WORRINGER

FORM PROBLEMS OF THE GOTHIC

THOMAS MUNRO

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VIRGIN AND CHILD
(Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

FORM PROBLEMS

OF THE

GOTHIC

BY

W. WORRINGER

AUTHORIZED AMERICAN EDITION

For Which the Translator Has Selected Illustrative Material Chiefly from American Collections

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Preface to the First Edition

IN its basic views the present psychological investigation of style is a sequel to my earlier book, *Abstraction and Empathy,* which in its third edition is being brought out simultaneously by the same publisher. Accordingly, whoever desires to orientate himself in regard to the premises that underlie the method employed in *Form Problems of the Gothic* is referred to those fundamental investigations.

As for the rest, I believe that my book may be read and understood even without such preparation, especially since I have taken pains in the course of this new statement to reiterate in concentrated form those premises that form the basis of my reasoning.

The illustrations, which the publisher has generously added to the book, do not claim at all to be exact scientific confirmation of what is developed in the text. They are intended, rather, to be taken primarily as harmonizing with the spirit of the text they accompany. Hence, their intangible qualities have helped to determine the selection.

This is not, however, to say that the illustrations are superfluous in scientific respects: rather, I hope that after one has perused the text, one will appreciate these illustrative additions with an entirely new understanding. Just that is the real test of my thesis.

Berne, Autumn, 1910
The Author

Preface to the Second and Third Editions

THE second and third editions offer the unaltered impression of the first, though this fact is not intended as any proof of its perfection. For books of this sort that are conceived and carried out as a unit permit of no subsequent patchwork.

Yet it should be added in the preface at least that the failure to take up the Oriental or the Byzantine question for the Middle Ages in northern Europe does not at all signify a rejection of these theories of eastern influence. Only the consideration that a complicated and therefore digressing special investigation was required to make this problem of history also a problem of style psychology caused me to renounce this task for the present. That, in a general way, the requisite psychological conditions exist for making the artistic will of the Byzantine appear to the Gothic man as having elective affinity can even now be read between the lines of my book. And, of course, according to my whole conception, this feeling of elective affinity in artistic will is the primary thing and the historical fact of influence is only an outer consequence of it. One may rest content, therefore, with the establishment of the possibility of attunement and leave the description of the more exact process of the formation of the Gothic-Byzantine tone to a later special investigation by the author.

Berne, May, 1912
The Author

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Introduction

THE historian's feverish effort to reconstruct the mind and soul of past times out of the material of transmitted matters of fact remains, in the last analysis, an attempt with unfit means. For, after all, the channel of historical knowledge is our ego, temporally conditioned and restricted even though we try ever so hard to screw it back into an ostensible objectivity. So far to liberate ourselves from our own temporal conditions and so far to master the intimate conditions of the epochs of the past that we actually think with their mind and feel with their soul—in that we shall never succeed. We remain, rather, with our powers of historical comprehension and cognition closely bound within the confines of our inner structure, which is limited by temporal circumstances. And the more clear-sighted, the more sensitive a historical scholar is, the more severely does he suffer from ever recurrent attacks of paralyzing resignation at the consciousness that the πρῶτον ψεῦδος of all history is that we comprehend and evaluate the things of the past, not in terms of their past, but in terms of our present, values.

The representatives of naïve historical realism are strangers to these doubts. Without scruple they exalt the relative conditions of their momentary humanity to absolute conditions of all times, and, as it were, out of the narrowness of their historic sense derive the privilege of consistent falsification of history. "Those naïve historians apply the term *objectivity* to the measurement of past thought and action by the standard of the vulgar notions of the moment. In this they find the canon of all truth. Their work is to adapt the past to the trivial spirit of their age. On the other hand, they term *subjective* every historical writing that does not accept those popular opinions as canonical" (Nietzsche).

As soon as the historian aspires beyond bare collection of material and establishment of historical facts to interpretation of these facts, mere empiricism and induction no longer suffice him. He must here entrust himself to his power of divination. His procedure is now, given lifeless historical material, to infer the immaterial conditions to which this owes its origin. That constitutes an inference leading into the unknown, the unknowable, one for which there is nothing but an intuitive basis.

Who, however, will venture into this uncertain field? Who will have the courage to proclaim the right to hypotheses, to speculation? Everyone who has suffered from the deficiencies of historical realism; everyone who has felt the bitterness of the dilemma: either to rest content in a certainty which flaunts itself as the certainty of objectivity and which in reality is to be attained only through one-sided subjective violence to objective facts, or to give up this pretended certainty and be guilty of depised speculation, which gives him at least a clear conscience, because he has got out of the rut of innate relative ideas as far as humanly possible, and because he has reduced the measure of his temporal limitations down to an ineradicable residue. Under stress of this dilemma he will prefer the conscious uncertainty of intuitively guided speculation to the uncertain consciousness of the alleged objective method.

To be sure, hypotheses are not synonymous with capricious fancies. Rather, by hypotheses is meant in this connection only the ambitious experiments of the instinctive love of knowledge. Into the darkness of such facts as are no longer to be understood in terms of our own times this instinct has the power to press forward only by carefully constructing a diagram of possibilities with its chief points of orientation formed by poles directly opposite ourselves. Since the instinct knows that all knowledge is but mediate—bound to the temporally limited ego—there is for it no possibility of broadening its capacity for historical knowledge except by broadening its ego. Now such

an extension of the plane of knowledge is not possible in reality, but only through the expedient of of an ideal auxiliary construction, which is plotted purely antithetically. Into the boundless space of history we build out from the firm standpoint of our positive ego an extended plane of knowledge by ideally doubling our ego through adding its opposite. For all possibilities of historical comprehension always lie only in this spherical surface stretching between our positive, temporally qualified ego and its opposite pole, which we get only through ideal construction, and which is the direct antipode of our ego. To summon an ideal auxiliary construction of this sort as a heuristic principle is the readiest way to overcome historical realism and its pretentious myopia. What though the results bear only hypothetical character!

With these hypotheses we come nearer than does short-sighted realism to the absolute objectivity of history, knowledge of which is withheld from us. With them we grasp that absolute objectivity in the largest measure of which our ego is capable and gain the greatest breadth of view open to us. Only such hypotheses can give us the satisfaction of seeing the ages reflected no longer in the little mirror of our positive, temporally restricted ego, but in the greater mirror which construction has augmented by all that lies beyond our positive ego. At all events, such hypotheses considerably diminish the distortion of the historical mirroring, though the whole matter is only a mere calculation of probabilities.

These hypotheses signify, to repeat, no offense against absolute historical objectivity, that is, against historical reality; for knowledge of that is indeed denied us, and we term the inquiry concerning it a vagary as justly as Kant characterizes the inquiry concerning the existence and nature of the *Ding an sich* as a mere vagary. The historical truth we seek is something quite other than historical reality. "History can be no copy of events 'as they really were,' but only a recasting of what actually happened in terms of the constructive aims of knowing and the *a priori* cate-

gories, which make the form, that is, the constitution of this branch of knowledge, no less than that of natural science, a product of our synthetic powers" (Simmel).

The problematical character of the so-called objective historical method strikes us most sensibly when we deal with those complex historical phenomena that are chiefly moulded by psychic forces. In other words, the history of religion and of art suffer keenly from the inadequacy of our historical faculty. In the face of these phenomena the impotency of pure realism becomes most obvious. For here we hamper all our possibilities of knowledge if we try to understand and appraise the phenomena solely according to our preconceptions. Here we must, in the case of each fact, take into account, rather, the presence of psychic conditions that are not our own and that we can approach only by way of prudent conjecture and without any safeguard of verification. The self-styled objective historical method identifies the conditions of past facts with its own conditions; the former are therefore known and given quantities. To intuitive historical investigation, on the contrary, they are the real object of research, and their approximate apprehension the one goal that makes the labor of investigation worth while.

While historical realism, in acquainting us with the religious and artistic phenomena of the past, has furnished only information—very thorough, to be sure—of the superficial forms of their appearance, the other, less self-satisfied, method strives for a vital interpretation of these phenomena and to this purpose alone exerts all its synthetic powers.

Aesthetic and Art Theory

HERE an attempt will be made to attain an understanding of the Gothic on the basis of its own premises, though, to be sure, these are disclosed to us only by way of hypothetically colored constructions. We shall seek the substratum of inner historical relations which makes the expressional laws of the formative energies of the Gothic intelligible to us. For every artistic phenomenon is impenetrable so long as we have not grasped the law and order of its formation.

Accordingly, we have to determine the form will of the Gothic, that form will which has grown out of the laws of human history and which records itself just as forcibly and unequivocally in the smallest point of Gothic drapery as in the great Gothic cathedral.

Let no one deceive himself: the form values of the Gothic have hitherto remained without psychological explanation. In fact, not so much as a resolute attempt at a *positive* appreciation has been made. All efforts in this direction—for example, beginning with Taine and his disciples—confine themselves to the psychical dissection of Gothic man and the characterization of his general cultural mood, without making any attempt to lay bare the orderly connection between these points and the outer artistic aspects of the Gothic. And yet genuine style psychology first begins when form values are revealed as the precise expression of inner values in such a way that all dualism between form and content vanishes.

The world of Classical art and of modern art based upon it has long since found such a codification of the laws of its structure: for what we call scientific aesthetic is at bottom nothing but such a psychological interpretation of style applied to the phenomenon of

Classical style. That is, there is taken into account as presupposition of this phenomenon of Classical art that concept of beauty, the determination and definition of which is the one and only concern of aesthetic in spite of the diversity of its methods of approach. But because aesthetic applies its conclusions to the complex whole of art and confidently pretends to explain also those facts which have quite other presuppositions than that concept of beauty, its utility becomes injury, its sovereignty, intolerable usurpation. Sharp distinction between aesthetic and objective art theory is therefore the most vital requirement for the serious scholarly investigation of art. It was really the life task of Konrad Fiedler to establish and champion this requirement, but the habit of unjustly identifying art theory and aesthetic, as had been done throughout the centuries since Aristotle's time, was stronger than Fiedler's clear argument. He lifted his voice in vain.

The peremptory claim of aesthetic upon the interpretation of non-Classical artistic complexes is therefore to be rejected. For all of our historical art investigation and art appreciation is affected by this one-sidedness of aesthetic. Where, in considering artistic facts, our aesthetic, as well as our idea (which runs parallel to it) of art as an urge toward the representation of the beautiful in life and of the natural, is insufficient, there we appraise only negatively. Either we pronounce sentence upon all that is strange and unnatural as being the result of not yet sufficient ability, or we avail ourselves—where the possibility of this first interpretation is excluded—of the questionable designation *conventionality,* which expression with its positive coloring so comfortably veils the actual negative appraisal.

That aesthetic has been able to carry off this peremptory claim to universal validity is the consequence of a deep-rooted error as to the nature of art in general. This error expresses itself in the assumption, sanctioned through many centuries, that the history of art is equivalent to the history of artistic ability, and that the self-evident, constant aim of this

ability is the artistic copying and reproduction of nature's models. The growing truth to life and naturalness of what is represented has in this way, without further question, been esteemed as artistic progress. The question of the artistic will has never been raised, because this will seemed, indeed, definitely established and undebatable. Ability alone has been the problem of valuation, never the will.

Thus, people have actually believed that it took mankind thousands of years to learn to draw correctly, that is, true to nature; they have actually believed that the artistic production takes shape from age to age only through a plus or minus of ability. Although so obvious and literally forced upon the investigator by numerous historical circumstances, it has not been recognized that this ability is only a secondary matter, which obtains its proper determination and regulation through the higher, sole determining factor, the will.

Modern art research, however, can, as has been said, no longer keep from recognizing this, but must accept as an axiom that the past could do all that it *willed* and that it could not do only that which did not lie in the direction of its will. The will, which was formerly undebatable, accordingly becomes the real problem of investigation, and ability as a criterion of worth completely disappears. For the fine differences between will and ability which are actually existent in the art production of past times can, as infinitesimally small values, not be taken into consideration, particularly as seen from the great distance of our standpoint they are in their smallness no longer to be recognized and to be calculated. But what we, in the retrospective study of art, are always grasping as difference between will and ability is in reality only the difference that subsists between our will and the will of past epochs, a difference which it was inevitable that we should overlook because of the assumption of the constancy of the will, but whose ap-

praisement and determination now become the real object of investigation for the analytical history of style.

With such a notion there is naturally introduced into the field of the scientific study of art a revision of all values by which incalculable possibilities are opened up. I say explicitly "the field of the scientific study of art," for the naïve appreciation of art should and must not be expected to hazard its impulsive and irresponsible feeling for artistic things in such by-paths of forced reflection. On the other hand, through this emancipation from the naïve point of view and through this altered attitude toward the artistic facts, the scientific study of art first becomes actually possible, for the formerly arbitrary and subjectively limited estimate of the facts of art history can only now become an approximately objective one.

Up to the present it has been the custom, then, to thrust the Classical art ideal into the limelight as the determining criterion of value and to subordinate the total complex of existent art facts to this point of view. It is clear why Classical art should arrive at this position of preëminence—which, to repeat, it always will have and must have as far as concerns the naïve appreciation of art. For under the assumption of an unchanging will directed toward the true-to-life reproduction of nature's models, the various Classical epochs of art must appear as absolute culminations, because in them every discrepancy between this will and the ability seems to be overcome. But the truth is that the discrimination of will and ability is just as imperceptible for us in their case as in the non-Classical epochs, and for us a particular worth attaches to the Classical epochs, merely because our artistic will fundamentally agrees with theirs. For not only in our mental development but also in our artistic development we are descendents of Classical humanity and its cultural ideals. Later, in the course of the more exact characterization of Classical man, which we are going to take up in order to get standards by which to measure Gothic man, we shall see in what

important essentials the constitution of the mind and soul of Classical man still agrees with the more differentiated product of evolution presented by modern man.

It is clear, in any case, that as the Classical art epochs attained this preëminent position, the aesthetic derived from them attained corresponding preëminence. Since all art came to be regarded only as a pressing forward toward Classical culminations, it was easy for aesthetic, although in reality only a psychological interpretation of the style of the works of these Classical epochs, to be applied to the whole course of art. Whatever failed to respond to the questions formulated by such aesthetic was judged deficient; that is, it was judged negatively. Since the Classical epochs were considered absolute culminations, aesthetic was also bound to win this absolute significance, and the result was that the method of approach in art history was made subjective in consonance with the modern one-sided Classical and European scheme. The understanding of non-European art complexes suffered most from this one-sidedness. They, too, were customarily measured according to the European scheme, which sets in the foreground the demand for true-to-life representation. Positive evaluation of these extra-European art complexes remained the privilege of some few, who knew how to emancipate themselves from the common European art prejudices. On the other hand, as the result of increasing world commerce, the greater infiltration of extra-European art into the European field of vision helped to make the demand for a more objective standard of measurement for the course of art prevail and to make a diversity of will be seen where before only a diversity of ability had been seen.

This extended acquaintance naturally had its reaction upon the appreciation of the more limited course of European art and emphatically called for a rehabilitation of those non-Classical epochs of Europe that previously had received only a relative, that is to say, a negative, consideration from the standpoint of the Classic. Most of all, the Gothic required such a

rehabilitation, such a positive interpretation of its forms; for the whole course of European art after antiquity can be reduced right down to the concentrated adjustment between the Gothic and the Classic.

Since previous aesthetic has been in a position to do justice only to the Classic, there ought to be an aesthetic of the Gothic, if one is not inclined to take offence at this paradoxical and inadmissible hybrid. It is inadmissible because with the expression *aesthetic* the idea of the beautiful immediately creeps in again, and the Gothic has nothing to do with beauty. And only poverty of our phraseology, behind which, in this case, to be sure, hides a very sensible poverty of knowledge, would make us wish to speak of a beauty of the Gothic. This supposed beauty of the Gothic is a modern misunderstanding. The real greatness of the Gothic has so little to do with our current idea of art, which necessarily has to culminate in the concept *beautiful,* that an acceptation of this word for Gothic qualities can only lead to confusion.

Therefore, let us shake the Gothic free from any verbal connection with *aesthetic.* Let us aspire through the phychology of style to such an interpretation of the phenomenon of Gothic art as will make the orderly relation between the inner feeling of the Gothic and the outer appearance of its art intelligible to us. Then we shall have attained for the Gothic what aesthetic has attained for the Classic.

Art Study as Human Psychology

WHEN we no longer look upon art history as a mere history of artistic ability, but as a history of artistic will, it has a greater significance for the general history of the world. Indeed, its subject-matter is thereby advanced into so high a sphere of investigation that it links up with that greatest chapter in human history, which treats of the development of the religious and philosophical culture of man and reveals to us the true psychology of mankind. For variations of the will, as the visible outcome of which we comprehend the style variations of art history, cannot be of a capricious, accidental sort. Rather, they must stand in an orderly relationship with the variations that take place in the constitution of the mind and soul of mankind, those variations which are clearly mirrored in the historical devolopment of myths, of religions, of philosophical systems, of views of life. As soon as we have discovered this orderly relationship, the history of artistic will falls into line on an equal footing with the comparative history of myth, the comparative history of religion, the comparative history of philosophy, the comparative history of views of life; it takes an equal place among these great fundamentals of the psychology of mankind. And thus, then, this present psychology of the Gothic style should also become a contribution to the history of the human psyche and of its forms of expression.

Because of the check that it has suffered from the one-sided Classical and subjective judgment described above, our study of the artistic activity of man is still in its primitive stages. First of all, for example, it has not yet gone through that radical transformation and broadening that the study of the mental activity of man owes to Kant's critique of knowledge. His important shifting of emphasis from the study of the objects known, to the study of the knowing itself, would correspond in the field of art study to a method which regards all artistic facts merely as the working

out of definite *a priori* categories of artistic, or, more exactly, of general psychic sensibility, and to a method for which these psychical categories that determine style are the real problem of investigation. Yet in more completely framing this method one has to accept a doctrine which, again, directly breaks the parallelism with Kant's critique of knowledge, namely, the law of the variability of these psychical categories. Man unqualified can no more exist for art history than can art unqualified. The two are rather ideological preconceptions, which would condemn to sterility the psychology of mankind and would hopelessly suppress the abundant possibilities of understanding art. The only constant is the bare material of human history, the sum total of human energies; but the combinations of the different factors are illimitably variable and so too are the phenomena resulting from them.

The variability of those psychical categories, which has found its formal expression in the development of style, goes forward in transformations, the order of which is regulated by that fundamental process of the whole historical evolution of mankind: the checkered, fateful process of man's adjustment to the outer world. The incessant alterations in this relationship of man to the impressions crowding in upon him from the surrounding world form the point of departure for all psychology on a grander scale, and no historical, cultural, or artistic phenomenon is comprehensible until we have put it in line with this essential point of view.

Primitive Man

IN order to illuminate not only the position of Gothic man in relation to the outer world but his resultant psychical and mental character and, further, those formal elements of his art determined by it, we need some trustworthy standards, some reliable units of measurement. Since in its composition the Gothic is an extremely complicated and differentiated phenomenon, we can acquire standards for measuring it only by first getting our bearings through the investigation of some fundamental types of humanity. I call fundamental types of humanity those products of historical development in which a definite and relatively simple relation of man to outer world has been impressed in a clear and paradigmatic way. Such great model examples for the history of humanity which aid us in understanding the less sharply pronounced or more subtly nuanced cases are primitive man, Classical man, and Oriental man.

Primitive man, that is, primeval man anterior to all experience, to all tradition and history, this first member in the development, can be constructed only hypothetically. And to a somewhat lesser degree Classical man and Oriental man, as we exhibit them, are also but imaginary constructions of a broadly outlined exposition, in that remote and organically differentiated complexities rich in nuances are simplified or forced into ideal types. Such forcing is permissible to historical analysis provided the result is looked upon only as a heuristic element, that is, as mere means to an end, without claim to value in itself.

Of early man we have a false picture. He has been transformed by the poetic creative power of mankind into a creature of paradise, an ideal being. He has been made the embodiment of an imaginary postulate which possesses stronger vitality than does calm historical reflection. As all metaphysical and poetical creations

of mankind are merely powerful and remarkable reactions of the instinct of self-preservation to the cramping, depressing sense of human insufficiency, so the picture of primeval man, the picture of the lost paradise of mankind, has received its alluring colors merely from human longing freeing itself from all constraint in a mighty flight of fancy. The imaginative life of mankind obeys a very simple law; it lives on antithesis. Hence, fancy places not only at the end, but also at the beginning of human history a state of felicity in which all darkness of reality is changed to gleaming brightness and all insufficiency appears as so much good fortune.

Under the pressure of a vague sense of guilt man has interpreted his historical development as a gradual process of estrangement between himself and the outer world, as a process of estrangement which has caused the initial unity and intimacy to become less and less. In reality, the course of development is surely the reverse, and that state of unity and intimacy at its beginning has only a poetical, not a historical validity. We must discard the picture of primeval man which is engendered by this poetical assumption, and, excluding all sentimental elements, we must construct his true picture solely by subtraction. And we should not shrink back before the monster that then remains in the place of the creature of paradise.

Let us subtract from the total sum of the ideas that we possess the enormous mass of inherited and acquired experiences. Let us reduce our mental wealth to the few original elements from which has proceeded the cumulation of interest and of compound interest that has increased incalculably in the course of milleniums. Let us level to its foundations the infinitely refined and marvelous structure of continuous contributions passed down in the course of evolution. There then remains a being that helplessly and incoherently confronts the outer world like a dumbfounded brute, a being that receives from the phenomenal world only fluctuating and untrustworthy *perceptual* images and but slowly with the aid of in-

creasing and consolidating experiences recoins these perceptual images as *conceptual* images, by means of which he gradually orientates himself in the chaos of the phenomenal world. The evolution of the human mind and soul we should not comprehend as an increasing estrangement after an initial state of close intimacy, but as a slow wearing away of the feeling of strangeness, as a slow growth of confidence through the coördination of all new sense impressions to earlier experiences. Certainly, at the inception of the development there stands unmitigated by experience an absolute dualism of man and surrounding world. Being confused by the apparent caprice and incoherence of phenomena, primitive man lives in a vague mental fear, a relationship to the outer world which is only slowly dissipated by progressive mental adjustment, and which, however, in spite of this dissipation, never wholly vanishes; for the traces of these earliest and deepest experiences cling to man as vague remembrance, as *natural instinct.* For so we name that secret undercurrent of our nature which we detect in ourselves as the court of last resort of our feeling, as the great irrational substratum beneath the deceptive upper surface of the senses and of the intellect, and to which we descend in hours of deepest and most painful insight, just as Faust descended to the *Mütter.* And the essential content of this instinct is awareness of the limitations of human knowledge, awareness of the phenomenal world's unfathomableness, which mocks all knowledge of the intellect. In these depths of our soul's consciousness still slumbers the feeling of the unbridgeable dualism of being, and before it the whole deceptive structure of experience and all anthropocentric delusion fall to pieces.

Because of the relationship of fear, in which primitive man stands to the phenomenal world, the most urgent need of his mind and soul must be to press forward to invariables, which save him from the chaotic confusion of the impressions of mind and sense. The incalculable relativity of the phenomenal world he must, accordingly, try to recast into constant, absolute

values. Out of this need arise language and art, and, above all, the religion of primitive man. To the absolute dualism of man and world corresponds, of course, an absolute dualism of God and world. The notion of God's immanence in the world can not yet find a place in this apprehensive soul, besieged by unknown powers. Deity is conceived as something absolutely above the world, as a dark power behind things which one must conjure and propitiate in every way, and against which one must, above all, secure and protect himself by every contrivable scheme. Under the burden of this deep metaphysical anxiety primitive man overloads his whole action and behavior with religious concerns. At every step he clings, as it were, to religious precautionary expedients and seeks through mysterious conjuration to render himself and all that is dear and precious to him taboo in order to guard in this way against the caprice of divine powers; for he personifies as such the precarious chaos of impressions that deprives him of all sense of peace and security.

His art also is an issue of this magic incantation in so far as it also strives to hold back by means of palpable invariables the caprice of the phenomenal world. In the free activity of his soul primitive man creates for himself symbols of the absolute in geometric or stereometric forms [Pl. II and Pl. III, C]. Confused and troubled by life, he seeks the lifeless, because it is free from the turbulence of becoming and offers permanent stability. Artistic creation means for him the endeavor to escape life and its arbitrariness, means the establishment in perceptible form of a substance underlying appearance, in which the caprice and transience of the latter are overcome. He starts from inflexible line with its abstract essence alien to life. Its intrinsic value, void of expression—that is, free from every idea of life—he senses dimly as part of an inorganic order superior to all life. To him who is tormented by the despotism of the living and therefore changing, line gives comfort and satisfaction, for it is the only *perceptible* expression he can attain of the non-living, of the absolute. He pursues the further geometrical

EXAMPLES OF PALEOLITHIC DESIGN (*after Piette*)

possibilities of line, makes triangles, squares, and circles, arranges series of identities, learns the advantage of regularity—in short, creates a primitive ornament, which for him is not play and mere delight in decoration, but a table of symbolical invariables and therefore an appeasement of dire needs of the soul. By covering with these magic signs everything he values, he fully utilizes the magical power, which, according to his quite consistent conception, these clear, permanent, absolute linear symbols have. It is, indeed, first of all himself he tries to make taboo by ornamental tattooing [Pl. III, B]. Primitive ornament is conjuration to dispel that horror of the incoherent surrounding world which is as yet unmitigated by the progressive orientation of the mind, and it is evident that a wearing away of this rigid, abstract character of art, this conjuring nature of art, runs parallel to the progressive orientation of the mind. Since in the Classical epochs the summit of this power of mental orientation has been attained, since in them the chaos has become a cosmos, it is further clear that at this stage of the historical development of man art has been completely absolved from its character of conjuration and may, therefore, turn unreservedly to life and its organic richness. The transcendentalism of art, the direct religious character of its values, thereby comes to an end. Art becomes an ideal enhancement of life, where it has formerly been conjuration and the negation of life.

But not to anticipate the analysis of the Classical feeling toward the world and toward art, we return to primitive man and his art. After he has provided himself in his linear geometric ornament with a sort of basis of invariables, he attempts still further to restrain the tormenting caprice of the phenomenal world by seeking to fix for his perception those single objects and impressions of the outer world that have for him a special meaning and value and that fluctuate and escape him in the variation of untrustworthy sense impressions. Out of them, too, he tries to make absolute symbols.

One need only be reminded of the analogy to the formation of language.

Accordingly, he extracts from the uninterrupted flux of events individual objects of the outer world, trying to get hold of them by fixing them in perceptible form. He frees them from their disquieting juxtaposition, from their lost condition in space. He reduces their changing manner of appearance to the char acteristic and recurrent features. He translates these features into his abstract language of line, assimilates them to his ornament, and in this way makes them absolute and invariable [Pl. III, D]. He produces artistic, that is, perceptible, images corresponding to the conceptual images of his mind, which latter have been incorporated in the forms of his speech and which, indeed, are also slowly framed reductions and elaborations of sense apprehension and preserve the same stenographic, abstract, and invariable character in the face of the multitude of phenomena.

For primitive man, therefore, the artistic reduction of the phenomena of the outer world is bound to the disembodied, expressionless line and, in further pursuance of its tendency, to the surface. For the surface is the given correlate of the line, and only in the surface lie the possibilities of fixing a conceptual image in compact, perceptible form. The third dimension, the dimension of depth, makes up the real corporeality of an object. That is what offers the strongest resistance to grasping and fixing an object in a unified, compact way. For it sets the object in space and therefore in the undefined relativism of the phenomenal world. Suppression of corporeal extension by means of the translation of the dimension of depth into surface dimension becomes necessarily, then, the first aim of that predilection which seeks to recoin into absolute and permanent forms what in the phenomenal world is relative and fluctuating in space. Only in surface representation has man even in his earliest development possessed an invariable symbol for that which is denied him by the three-dimensionality of the actual, an invariable symbol for the absolute form of the

A. PREHISTORIC STONE FIGURE
found in Georgia (*after Wilson*)

B. TATTOOED HEAD VASE
from Pecan Point, Arkansas
(*U. S. National Museum, Washington.*)

C. D.
PRE-DYNASTIC EGYPTIAN POTTERY WITH GEOMETRIC DESIGNS
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

individual object of the outer world, that is, for the form purified from all accident of apprehension and from all spatial confusion with other phenomena.

Primitive man is artistically active only when he is drawing or scratching in the plane. When in addition to this he does sculptural modelling in clay or other material, it is only an issue of playful imitative instinct, which belongs not to the history of art, but to the history of handicraft. Imitative instinct and artistic creative instinct, which are here quite different in their nature, first blend at a much later period of evolution, when art, no longer hampered by any transcendency, has turned whole-heartedly to the natural. And as closely as the actual borders upon the natural—without being identical with it—so closely at this later time do imitative instinct and artistic instinct approach, and the danger of interchange becomes almost unavoidable.

In spite of the unique suitability of surface representation to the above-analyzed artistic intention of primitive man, sculptural representation is not wholly intractable for his artistic use. Where, for the sake of the eternal character of stone, he occupies himself with sculpture, he attempts—by means of the most simple and unambiguous demonstration of surface relations, by means of the greatest possible preservation of cubic compactness, by means of few effects of light and shade; in short, by means of a modelling that excludes all spatial, evasive, chance aspects—to overcome the confusion that cubic figures oppose to coherent apprehension [Pl. III, A]. An approximation to the abstract, cubical elementary forms results from this stylistic intention that shuns every approach to life. Thus, again, the artistic representation of the organic and living, even in the case of sculpture, shifts into the higher domain of an abstract, lifeless order and becomes, instead of the likeness of what is conditioned, the symbol of what is unconditioned, invariable. But primitive man can hardly be cited as an example in connection with this highest and most complicated ambition

of artistic instinct for abstraction; not until we come to Oriental art, especially Egyptian, do we find this in its highest form—but of that elsewhere.

Classical Man

THE process of adjustment between man and outer world takes place, of course, in man alone and is nothing but the adjustment between natural instinct and intelligence going on in him. In man's earliest development natural instinct is still everything, intelligence nothing. However, on the basis of his waxing store of experience and of ideas, man gradually familiarizes himself more and more with the order of the world, and gradually the chaos of sense impressions resolves itself into an arrangement of logical events. Chaos becomes cosmos. With this growing mental conquest of the world, vanishes, as a matter of course, the sense of the relativity of phenomena which mocks all knowledge. Instinctive fear is laid to rest by external knowledge and slowly wanes away, and while human self-consciousness approaches anthropocentric arrogance more and more, the organ for the deep, unbridgeable dualism of being atrophies. Life becomes more beautiful, more joyful; but it loses in depth, grandeur, and power. For in the increasing security of his knowledge, man has made himself the measure of all things, has assimilated the world to his trivial humanity.

He no longer looks at the world as something strange, unapproachable, mysteriously great, but as the living supplement of his own ego. He sees in it, as Goethe says, the responsive reflection of his own feelings. The vague, instinctive critique of knowledge of primitive man yields to a joyous, self-conscious belief in knowledge, and the primeval cold relationship of fear between man and world now becomes an intimate relationship of confidence, which liberates manifold previously inhibited powers of the soul and gives art in particular an entirely new function.

At this point of equilibrium between natural instinct and intelligence stands Classical man, whose

clearest paradigm is Hellenic man in the ideal form—perhaps somewhat beyond actual facts—in which he has shaped himself in our imagination. He is the monumental model example for the second decisive stage in that great process of adjustment of man to outer world, which constitutes world history.

With Classical man the absolute dualism of man and outer world vanishes, and consequently the absolute transcendentalism of religion and art vanishes. The divine is divested of its other-worldliness, it is secularized, incorporated in the mundane. For Classical man the divine is no longer something ultramundane, no longer a transcendental conception, but for him it is contained in the world, embodied by the world.

Now, with man's belief in immediate divine immanence throughout all creation, with his premise of world-acclaiming pantheism, the process of anthropomorphizing the world reaches its climax. For it is this process which lies concealed behind the deification of the world. The ideal unity of God and world now attained is only another name for the unity of man and world, that is, for the fully accomplished conquest of the world by mind and sense, which wipes out all the original dualism.

The law and order which primitive man, embryonic man, could seek only behind things, only in something underlying appearances, only in the negation of the living, Classical man seeks in the world itself, and, since man and world are now one, are now totally assimilated to each other, he finds this orderliness in himself and resolutely projects it upon the world. Accordingly, he draws directly out of himself that law and order which man needs so as to feel secure in the world. In other words, there takes place a gradual process in which religion is replaced by science, or philosophy. For science and philsophy are identical to Classical man.

What religion loses in sovereign importance and power it gains in beauty. Supplanted by science, it becomes more a luxurious function of psychical activity, without immediate character of necessity. It shares this

HEAD OF APHRODITE. FOURTH CENTURY, B. C.
(Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

fate, as we shall see later, with art, which for the very same reasons undergoes a tempering of character.

In the case of Classical man there prevails a fine supplementary relationship between religion and science. Olympus is a kind of sensuous correlate to intellectual knowledge. Science has indeed dislodged that vague, evasive mysticism of primitive religion. But with the clear sculptural quality of the Greek Olympus as it has slowly and surely crystallized out of the haze of unclear mystical conceptions, science is not only compatible but, as we have said, is directly supplemented. Without that certainty achieved by sensuous and intellectual discernment the clear, sculptural quality of the Greek Olympus is unthinkable. They supplement each other as do concept and percept. For to anthropomorphization, as it prevails, along with science, in the field of sensuous and intellectual knowledge, there corresponds in the field of religion that creative impulse which shapes the gods in human form and makes them ideally enhanced men who are differentiated only quantitatively, not qualitatively, from human beings [Pl. IV]. Religion comes by degrees to satisfy only the needs of perception, no longer the direct intellectual needs of cognition. It therefore loses its intellectual, non-perceptual, supersensuous character.

And now, as has already been said, the artistic development runs exactly parallel to this religious development. Art also loses its transcendental, supersensuous coloring. It, like the Greek Olympus, comes to be nature idealized.

For primitive man, still mentally undeveloped and therefore uncertain and afraid in the face of the chaos of the world about him, to create artistically was synonymous, as we have seen, with the proclivity to organize an ultramundane world of values in easily perceptible form, a world that is elevated above all the changing phenomena that are entangled in the caprice of life, a world of absolute and stable values. What was living and arbitrary in his eternally fluctuating sense impressions he therefore remoulded into invariable

symbols of an easily perceptible and abstract sort. The enjoyment of the direct sense perception of the object was not the point of departure in the case of his artistic volition; rather, he created precisely in order to overcome the torment of perception, in order to gain fixed conceptual images instead of accidental perceptual ones. Art bore, therefore, a positive, almost scientific character; it was the product of an immediate instinct of self-preservation, not the free, luxurious product of a humanity cured of all elementary dread of the world.

In the Classical periods of human development it has become this fine, imposing, luxurious product. Classical man no longer feels distressed at the relativity and lack of clearness in the phenomenal world, no longer feels tormented by perception as did primitive man. The systematizing and harmonizing activities of his mind have sufficiently restricted the caprice of the phenomenal world to give free play to his joy in life. The creative powers of his soul, released from the immediate necessity of psychical self-preservation, become free to act with more enjoyment of actuality, become free for art in our sense, in which art and science are absolute antitheses. As fear of the world becomes reverence for the world in Goethe's sense, so a strong impulse to abstraction becomes a lively impulse to empathy. Classical man devotes himself with all his senses to the phenomenal world of sense in order to remould it according to his own image. There is no longer anything lifeless for him; he animates everything with his own life. For him, to create artistically means to hold fast in perceptible form the ideal process of the amalgamation of his own sense of vitality with the living world about him; he no longer evades accidental appearance, but merely modifies it in consonance with an organically smooth orderliness, modifies it, in other words, through the inherent counterpoint of his own sense of vitality, of which he has become joyfully conscious. Every artistic representation becomes then a quasi-apotheosis of this now conscious elementary sense of vitality.

A. GREEK MIRROR COVER WITH PLANT ORNAMENT. FIFTH CENTURY, B. C.
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

B. CHRYSELEPHANTINE SNAKE GODDESS. LATE MINOAN
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

C. DIPYLON VASE
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

A sense of the beauty of the living, of the pleasing rhythm of the organic is awakened. Ornament, which was formerly regularity, without expressing anything except invariability (that is, without direct expression), now becomes a living movement of forces, an ideal play of organic tendencies freed of all purpose [Pl. V, A]. It is wholly transformed into expression, and this expression is the life that man bestows out of his own sense of vitality upon the form, dead and meaningless in itself. Empathy opens up to Classical man the enjoyment of perception, which was still withheld from the mentally undeveloped man who found himself in his first, rude and scanty, adjustment to the things of the surrounding world.

Thus, at this Classical stage of human development art creation becomes a clear, ideal demonstration of now conscious and clarified vitality; it becomes the objectified enjoyment of self. Purged of all dualistic memories, man celebrates in art, as in religion, the realization of a felicitous state of equilibrium of soul.

Oriental Man

CLASSICAL man, with his well-tempered mood, amounts to a culmination in the circle of Occidental culture. He sets the ideal standard of Occidental possibilities. But we must not mistake Europe for the world, we must not in European self-consciousness shut our eyes to the phenomenon of Oriental civilization, which almost beggars our limited power of imagination.

For when we confront Oriental man, this third great model example of human development, there is intruded upon us a wholly new standard of human development that corrects our European prejudice. We must recognize that our European culture is only a culture of the mind and of the senses, and that besides this mental and sensuous culture, bound as it is to the fiction of progress, there is another, which rests upon sources of knowledge deeper than the intellect, especially upon the one most valuable source, natural instinct; we must recognize that intellectual knowledge as vain and empty, only superficial delusion. The culture of the Oriental is built up on natural instinct, and the ring of evolution is closed: the Oriental stands nearer to primitive man, again, than does Classical man, and yet there is a whole cycle, a whole world of development between them. The veil of Maya, before which primitive man stood in vague terror, Oriental man has looked through and he has come face to face with the inexorable dualism of all being. Awareness of the problem of appearance and of the unfathomable riddle of being is deeply rooted in his natural instinct and precludes that naïve belief in this world's values, with which Classical man felt happy. That happy amalgamation of sensuous feeling and intellectual knowledge, which led Classical man both to sensualize, or humanize, and to rationalize the world, is impossible for Oriental

man because of the absolute predominance in his case of inner instinct over outer knowledge. The realm of the Oriental soul remains completely unaffected by the progress of the Oriental intellect, for the two do not exist together, but only side by side, without any convertibility, without commensurability. Intellectual knowledge might progress ever so far; but since it lacks anchorage in the soul, it can never, in the Greek manner, become a productive cultural element. All productive culture-creating powers are bound, rather, to instinctive knowledge.

In the possession of this instinctive knowledge Oriental man is again like primitive man. He has the same dread of the world, the same need of deliverance that the initial member of the development had. But with him all this is nothing preliminary, nothing yielding before increasing intellectual knowledge, as with primitive man; it is a final phase, superior to all development, not *prior,* but *superior,* to intelligence. If, in contrast to Classical European man and his anthropocentric thought, the human self-consciousness of the Oriental is so slight and his metaphysical humility so great, that is merely because his cosmic sense is so broad.

The dualism of the Oriental stands above intelligence. He is no longer confused and tormented by this dualism, but he feels it to be a sublime fate, and, silent and passive, he submits to the great impenetrable mystery of being. His fear is raised to respect, his resignation has become religion. To him life is no longer confused and distressing madness, but it is holy, because it is rooted in depths that are inaccessible to man and allow him to feel his own nothingness. For this sense of his nullity elevates him, because it gives life its greatness.

The Oriental's dualistically bound cosmic feeling is clearly reflected in the strictly transcendental coloring of his religion and of his art. Life, the phenomenal world, actuality—in short, everything which was given a positive valuation by Classical man in his naïvely happy world piety—is again consciously made relative

by the more penetrating Oriental knowledge of the world and is subjected to a loftier appraisal which proceeds from a higher reality lying behind all phenomena. This idea of a beyond lends to Oriental metaphysics a dynamic tension of which the mature Classical world was ignorant. And as a natural and necessary outcome of this psychical tension is framed the thought of salvation, which thought is the culmination of Oriental mysticism and is finally given in Christianity the stamp most familiar to us.

Oriental art is a similar outcome of a similar tension. It also has absolute redemptive character, and its clear-cut transcendental, abstract coloring distinguishes it from all that is Classical. It expresses no joyous approval of apparent vitality, but wholly appertains to that other domain which looks beyond the time and chance of life toward a higher order that is rid of all false impressions and sense deceptions, that is dominated by necessity and permanence, that is consecrated by the grand calm of Oriental instinctive knowledge.

Like the art of primitive man, the art of the Orient is strictly abstract and bound to the inflexible, expressionless line and its correlate, the surface. Yet in richness of forms and in congruity of solutions it far surpasses primitive art. The elementary creation has become a complicated artful structure, primitivity has become culture, and the higher, riper quality of the cosmic sense is recorded in unmistakable fashion, despite the external similarity of means of expression. We usually fail to appreciate the great difference between primitive and Oriental art, because our European eye is not sharpened for the nuances of abstract art, and we always see only what they have in common, that is, only the lifelessness, the departure from nature. There is actually present, however, the same difference as between the dull fetishism of primitive and the profound mysticism of Oriental man.

The Latent Gothic of Early Northern Ornament

AFTER we have thus briefly sketched in their main lines three principal types of human development, that is, three principal stages in the process of adjustment of man to outer world, we shall approach from these fundamental points of orientation our proper problem, the Gothic.

Let us explain at once that the Gothic which our investigation is going to elaborate in terms of the psychology of style in no way coincides with the historical Gothic. This latter more limited Gothic, as defined in school usage, we take, rather, as only a final resultant of a specifically northern development which sets in already in the Hallstadt and La Tène periods, indeed, in its very beginnings, even earlier. Northern and middle Europe are preëminently the scene of this development; its point of origin is perhaps Germanic Scandinavia [Pl. VII, A].

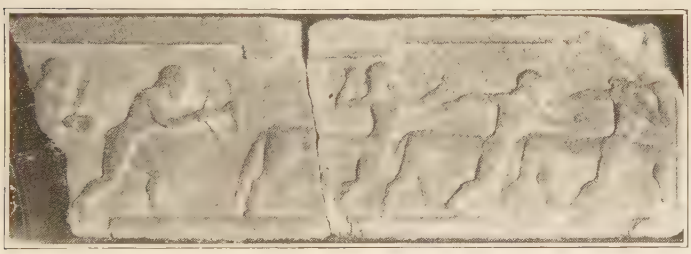
In other words, the psychologist of style, who, looking at the mature historical Gothic, has once become conscious of the fundamental character of the Gothic form will, sees this form will active underground, as it were, even where it is restrained by more powerful external circumstances and where, prevented from free assertion, it assumes a strange disguise. He recognizes that this Gothic form will dominates, not outwardly, but inwardly, Romanesque art, Merovingian art, the art of the barbarian invasions—in short, the whole course of northern and middle European art.

It is really the purpose of our investigation to demonstrate the justification of this further extension of the stylistic term *Gothic.* In the meanwhile this assertion may be put at the beginning merely as a thesis which we are undertaking to establish.

We repeat, therefore, that according to our view the art of the whole Occident, as far as it has not immediately participated in the antique Mediterranean culture, is Gothic in its inmost essence and remains so up to the Renaissance, that great turning point of the northern development. That is, the form will immanent in it, often scarce recognizable outwardly, is identically that which receives its clear, unobstructed, monumental exposition in the ripe historical Gothic. We shall see later how even the Italian Renaissance, proceeding from wholly different psychical premises, has, when it has encroached upon the north and become the European style, proved incapable of completely smothering the Gothic form will. Northern Baroque is in a certain sense the flaring up again of the suppressed Gothic form will under a strange mask. So *Gothic* as a term of style psychology extends further than the school term *Gothic* toward the present also.

The basis upon which Gothic form will develops is the geometric style as it is spread over the whole earth as the style of primitive man [Pl. II]. About the time, however, when the north enters into the historical development, this style appears peculiarly as the common property of all Aryan peoples. Before we indicate the development from this primitive geometric style into the Gothic style, we may, in order to characterize the historical situation of the world, recall that already with the Dorian migration this common Aryan style encountered the Orientally tinged style of early Mediterranean peoples, and that it gave the impulse to the specifically Greek development. At first the conflict between the two heterogeneous conceptions of style was quite abrupt: Mycenæan style and Dipylon style [Pl. V, B and C]. Then it echoed more softly in the difference in character between Doric and Ionic styles [Pl. VI, A and B]. Finally, the conciliation took place in the mature Classical style [Pl. VI, C]. In brief, this first offshoot of the Aryan style was entirely lost in the Mediterranean culture; hence for our study it drops out in advance.

A. PERSEUS SLAYING THE MEDUSA. METOPE FROM SELINUS
(*Palermo Museum*)



B. HERCULES PURSUING THE CENTAURS. FRIEZE FROM ASSOS
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

C. BOSTON COUNTERPART OF THE LUDOVISI THRONE, SO-CALLED
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

We are interested only in the conglomerate of young, still undeveloped hordes of northern and middle Europe, who were not yet in contact with the high Mediterranean culture connected with the Orient, and in whom was developing upon the basis of the general Aryan geometric style the great future power of the Middle Ages, the Gothic.

In this middle and northern European conglomerate of peoples, in this true nursery of the Gothic, we would not set forth any single people as vehicle of the movement; the fact that we nevertheless talk in the following pages mainly of the Germanic development is not due to any wish to uphold the fiction of race in the sense of Chamberlain, but rather is partly for the sake of convenience and is partly due to the consciousness that in this northern chaos of peoples the distinctions of race are at first kept so much in the background by common conditions of life and of psychical development that the adduction of a single people as *pars pro toto* is justified. On the other hand, this particular adduction of the Teutons agrees, to be sure, with our view that the disposition toward Gothic is found only where Teutonic blood mingles with that of other European races. Teutons are, accordingly, not the exclusive promoters of the Gothic and not its sole creators; Celts and Latins have equally important share in the Gothic development. Teutons, however, are probably the *conditio sine qua non* of the Gothic.

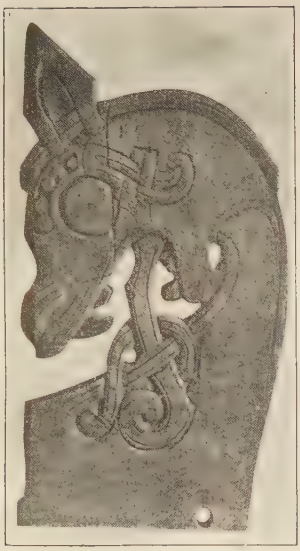
In contrast to the exactness appropriate to special investigations we shall, accordingly, within the broad lines of the purpose of our study, need to pay less painstaking attention to the differentiation of the individual agents of the aggregate northern movement.

The art of this northern racial conglomeration, at the time when it seems to be waiting for its cue, the fall of the Roman Empire, to enter as principal actor into the historical development of the world, is sheer ornament. And indeed this ornament is at the outset purely abstract in character. All attempt at direct imitation of nature is lacking. In speaking of early Teutonic ornament, Haupt, the authoritative historian of

Germanic art, says: "In their art there is no representation of the natural, neither of man, animal, nor tree. All has become surface decoration. As far as those races are concerned, we cannot, therefore, speak of a strictly formative art in the modern sense; their art is anything but the attempt to imitate what is before their eyes." It is, then, a purely geometrical play of line, but we do not mean with the expression *play of line* to attach the character of playfulness to this kind of art practice. On the contrary, after our discussion of the ornament of primitive man, it is clear that a strong metaphysical content is inherent even in this early northern ornament.

In the earliest times it is not essentially different from the primitive geometric style which we called common property of all Aryan peoples. On the foundation of this elementary Aryan grammar of line, however, there gradually develops a particular language of line, which bears characteristics that mark it plainly as a genuine Germanic dialect. In the terminology of the materialistic theory of art it is the linear fantasy called intertwining band ornament or braid ornament [Pl. VIII]. Wherever Teutons were scattered by the storms of race migration, we find in their graves this unique and quite unmistakable ornament: in England, in Spain, in North Africa, in Southern Italy, in Greece, and in Armenia.

Lamprecht describes this sort of ornament as follows: "There are certain simple motives whose interweaving and commingling determine the character of this ornament. In the beginning, only the point, the line, and the band were used, then later the curved line, the circle, the spiral, the zig-zag, and an S-shaped ornament—truly no great wealth of motives! But what variety is attained by the manner of their use! Now we see them laid parallel, now dovetailed, now latticed, now knotted, now interwoven, now even all checkered through each other in reciprocal knotting and interweaving. Thus arise fantastically confused designs, whose enigma lures to puzzling, whose course seems to shun, to seek itself, whose components, endowed with



A. ANIMAL ORNAMENT FROM A VIKING SHIP (*after Gustafson*)

B. GOTHIC GARGOYLE (*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

C. GARGOYLES OF NOTRE-DAME, PARIS

sensibility, as it were, captivate mind and eye in living, passionate motion."

There is a linear fantasy here whose fundamental character we must analyze. As in the ornament of primitive man, the vehicle of artistic will is the abstract geometric line, which contains no organic expression, that is, no possibility of organic interpretation. Now, while in the organic sense it is expressionless, nevertheless, it is of extreme liveliness. The words of Lamprecht expressly attest the impression of passionate activity and life, expressly attest the impression of a seeking, restless perturbation in this medley of lines. Since the line lacks all organic timbre, its expression of life must be an expression unconnected with organic life. The thing is to understand the peculiar nature of this super-organic expressiveness.

We see that the northern ornament, despite its abstract linear character, sets free impressions of life, which our feeling of vitality, bound as it is to empathy, would impute *immediately* only to the organic world. So it would seem that this ornament [Pl. VIII] unites the abstract character of primitive geometric ornament [Pl. II] and the living character of Classical organically tinged ornament [Pl. V, A]. Such is, however, not the case. It can by no means raise the claim of presenting a synthesis, a union, of these fundamental antitheses. It deserves, rather, only the name of a hybrid phenomenon. It is not a question here of a harmonious commingling of two opposing tendencies, but of an unclear and, to a certain degree, uncanny amalgamation of them, of drawing upon our power of empathy, which is bound to organic rhythm, for an abstract world foreign to it. Our organically tempered sense of vitality shrinks back before this senseless violence of expression as before a debauchery. But when finally, yielding to compulsion, it lets its energies flow into these lines, dead in themselves, it feels itself torn away in an unheard-of manner and raised to a frenzy of movement which far outstrips all possibilities of organic movement. The pathos of movement inherent in this vitalized geometry—a prelude to the vitalized mathematics of Gothic architec-

ture—forces our sensibility to an unnatural feat of strength. Once the natural bounds of organic motion are broken through, there is no stopping; again and again the line is broken, again and again checked in the natural direction of its movement, again and again violently prevented from running out quietly, again and again diverted to new complications of expression, so that, intensified through all these restraints, it yields its utmost of expressive power, until finally, robbed of all possibilities of natural satisfaction, it comes to an end in intricate contortions, or disconsolately breaks off in vacancy, or senselessly runs back into itself.

Confronted with the organic clearness and moderation of Classical ornament, we are under the impression that it springs without restraint from our sense of vitality. It has no expression beyond that which we give it. The expression of northern ornament, on the other hand, is not immediately dependent upon us; here we face, rather, a life that seems to be independent of us, that makes exactions upon us and forces upon us an activity that we submit to only against our will. In short, the northern line is not alive because of an impression that we voluntarily impute to it, but it seems to have an inherent expression which is stronger than our life.

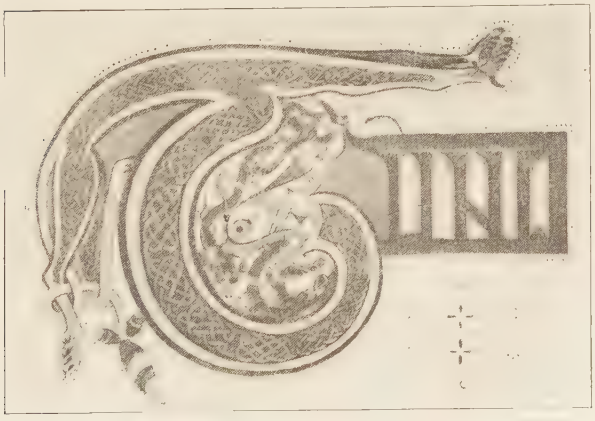
This inherent expression of northern, that is, Gothic, line, which in a strict psychological sense is of course only apparent, we must try to comprehend more exactly. Let us start from commonplace experiences of everyday life. If we pick up a pencil and make line scrawls on paper, we can already sense the difference between the expression dependent upon us and the individual expression of the line seemingly not dependent upon us.

When we draw the line in fine round curves, we involuntarily accompany the movement of our wrist with our inner feeling. We feel with a certain pleasant sensation how the line almost grows out of the spontaneous play of the wrist. The movement we make is of an unobstructed facility; the impulse once given, movement goes on without effort. This pleasant feeling,

A.

B.

EXAMPLES OF INTERLACE ORNAMENT. MEROVINGIAN
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)



C. "TUNC" FROM THE BOOK OF KELLS
(*Library of Trinity College, Dublin*)

this freedom of creation, we transfer now involuntarily to the line itself, and what we have felt in executing it we ascribe to it as expression. In this case, then, we see in the line the expression of organic beauty just because the execution corresponded with our organic sense. If we meet such a line in another production, our impression is the same as if we had drawn it ourselves. For as soon as we become conscious of any kind of line, we inwardly follow out involuntarily the process of its execution.

Besides this organic expressive power of line, which we experience in all Classical ornament, there is, however, another, and it is the one that comes into consideration for our Gothic problem. Again we may start from the familiar experiences of playful line scrawls. If we are filled with a strong inward excitement that we may express only on paper, the line scrawls will take an entirely different turn. The will of our wrist will not be consulted at all, but the pencil will travel wildly and impetuously over the paper, and instead of the beautiful, round, organically tempered curves, there will result a stiff, angular, repeatedly interrupted, jagged line of strongest expressive force. It is not the wrist that spontaneously creates the line; but it is our impetuous desire for expression which imperiously prescribes the wrist's movement. The impulse once given, the movement is not allowed to run its course along its natural direction, but it is again and again overwhelmed by new impulses. When we become conscious of such an excited line, we inwardly follow out involuntarily the process of its execution, too. Now, this following out, however, is not accompanied by any pleasure, but it is as if an outside dominant will coerced us. We are made aware of all the suppressions of natural movement. We feel at every point of rupture, at every change in direction, how the forces, suddenly checked in their natural course, are blocked, how after this moment of blockade they go over into a new direction of movement with a momentum augmented by the obstruction. The more frequent the breaks and the more obstructions thrown in, the more powerful becomes the seething at

the individual interruptions, the more forceful becomes each time the surging in the new direction, the more mighty and irresistible becomes, in other words, the expression of the line. For here, too, in apperception we ascribe to the line as expression the processes of executing it that we inwardly follow out. And since the line seems to thrust its expression upon us, we feel this to be something autonomous, independent of us, and we speak, therefore, of an inherent expression of the line.

The essence of this inherent expression of the line is that it does not stand for sensuous and organic values, but for values of an unsensuous, that is, spiritual sort. No activity of organic will is expressed by it, but activity of psychical and spiritual will, which is still far from all union and agreement with the complexes of organic feeling.

Now, by this statement we do not mean to say that the northern ornament, that "almost primeval and darkly chaotic jumble of lines" (Semper), stands on a par with the line scrawls of an emotionally or mentally excited man, nor that it reflects even in a general way, this phenomenon of everyday experience. That would be a comparison between wholly incommensurable entities. Nevertheless, this comparison will offer us suggestions. As those line scrawls seem merely the release of an inner spiritual pressure, so the excitement, the convulsiveness, the fever, of northern drawing unquestionably throws a flashlight upon the heavily oppressed inner life of northern humanity. By this comparison, at all events, we may make sure of the expression of a spiritual unrest in northern ornament. But what is playful line scrawling in the everyday life of the individual is something else in the art expression of a whole race. In the latter case it is the longing to be absorbed in an unnatural intensified activity of a non-sensuous, spiritual sort—one should remember in this connection the labyrinthic scholastic thinking—in order to get free, in this exaltation, from the pressing sense of the constraint of actuality. And, let it be said in advance, this longing for an activity, non-sensuous and

elevated above all sense, or, to choose the more exact word, supersensuous, this longing which created such ornament lashed into the utmost expressiveness, was what gave rise to the fervent sublimity of the Gothic cathedral, that transcendentalism in stone.

As Gothic architecture presents the picture of a complete dematerialization of the stone and is full of spiritual expression not bound by stone and sense, so early northern ornament offers the picture of a complete degeometrization of the line for the sake of the same exigencies of *spiritual* expression.

The line of primitive ornament is geometric, is dead and expressionless [Pl. III, C]. Its artistic significance rests simply and solely upon this absence of all life, rests simply and solely upon its thoroughly abstract character. With the abatement of the original dualism between man and world, that is, with the mental development of man, the abstract geometrical character of the line is gradually weakened. This weakening, this transition of the stiff, expressionlessness into expressiveness can proceed in two different directions. In place of the dead geometric modality can arise an organic vitality agreeable to the senses—that is the case with Classical ornament [Pl. V, A]. Or there can arise a spiritual vitality, far transcending the senses—that is the case with early northern ornament [Pl. VIII], the Gothic character of which is immediately indicated by this observation. And it is evident that the organically determined line contains beauty of expression, while power of expression is reserved for the Gothic line. This distinction between beauty of expression and power of expression is immediately applicable to the whole character of the two stylistic phenomena of Classic and Gothic art.

The Infinite Melody of Northern Line

THE antithesis between Classical ornament and northern, or Gothic, ornament needs further and deeper consideration. The fundamentally dissimilar character of these two manifestations of art shall also be explained in detail. The first thing that is noticed in the comparison of the two styles of ornament is that northern ornament lacks the concept of symmetry so innate in all Classical ornament. Instead of symmetry, repetition dominates [Pl. IX, A and B]. To be sure, in Classical ornament repetition of individual motives does play a rôle; but this repetition is of an entirely different cast [Pl. V, A and Pl. VI, C]. Classical ornament generally inclines to repeat in countersense, as in a mirror, the motive once struck, whereby the character of uninterrupted progression produced by repetition is paralyzed. From this repetition in countersense results a quiescence, a completion of the rhythm; the juxtaposition has the calm character of addition that never mars the symmetry. The organically guided sensibility of Classical man furnishes to the movement, arising from repetition and threatening to exceed the organic and to become mechanistic, repeated rest accents by forming pauses. That checks, as it were, the hastening mechanical activity by means of this repetition in countersense which is demanded by organic feeling.

In the case of northern ornament, on the other hand, the repetition does not have this quiet character of addition, but has, so to speak, the character of multiplication. No desire for organic moderation and rest intervenes here. A constantly increasing activity without pauses and accents arises, and the repetition has only the one intention of raising the given motive to the power of infinity. The infinite melody of line hovers before the vision of northern man in his ornament, that infinite line which does not delight but stupefies

A. WOOD-CARVING WITH ROTATING-WHEEL ORNAMENT. LATE GOTHIC
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

B.

C.

D.

EXAMPLES OF ZOÖMORPHIC ORNAMENT. MEROVINGIAN
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

and compels us to yield to it without resistance. If we close our eyes after looking at northern ornament, there remains only the echoing impression of incorporeal endless activity.

Lamprecht speaks of the enigma of this northern intertwining band ornament, which one likes to puzzle over [Pl. VIII]. But it is more than enigmatic; it is labyrinthic. It seems to have no beginning and no end, and especially no center; all those possibilities of orientation for organically adjusted feeling are lacking. We find no point where we can start in, no point where we can pause. Within this infinite activity every point is equivalent and all together are insignificant compared with the agitation reproduced by them.

We have already said that the endless activity of northern ornament is the same as that which Gothic architecture later wins from the dead masses of stone, and this identification is only corroborated, only further explained, by the statement of a difference. For, while the impression of the endless line would only be attained by having it really come to no visible end—that is, by having it senselessly return into itself—in architecture the impression of endless movement results from the exclusive accentuation of the vertical [Pl. XXII].

In view of this movement converging from all sides and vanishing upwards, the actual termination of the movement at the extreme point of the tower is not to be considered: the movement reëchoes to infinity. In this case the vertical accentuation offers indirectly the symbol of endlessness which in the ornament is given directly by the line's returning into itself.

We have therefore established in addition to the predominantly asymmetrical peculiarity of northern ornament its predominantly acentric quality, also. Yet this only applies to the general character; in detail there are exceptions. Thus, there are a number of ornamental motives in the north that undoubtedly have centric character, but here, too, we can ascertain a striking difference from similar Classical designs. For example, instead of the regular and wholly geometrical

star, or the rosette [Pl. VI, C], or similar motionless shapes, in the north are found the rotating wheel, the turbine, or the so-called solar wheel—all patterns that express violent movement [Pl. IX, A and B]. And, furthermore, the movement is not radial but peripheral. It is a movement that cannot be checked and restrained. "While in its opposed—negative and positive—centripetal and centrifugal movement antique ornament neutralizes itself and so comes to absolute rest, northern ornament goes ever onward from a point of beginning, ever forward in the same sense, until its course has described the whole surface and, as a natural consequence, runs back into itself" (Haupt). The difference between the peripheral movement of the northern ornament and the radial movement of the antique is therefore entirely similar to that between the repetition in the same sense and the repetition in countersense. In the latter there is quiet, measured organic movement; in the former, uninterruptedly accelerated mechanical movement. Thus, we see how, precisely in the case of apparent relationship in the formations of Classical and northern ornament, their distinction reveals itself all the more clearly on closer inspection.

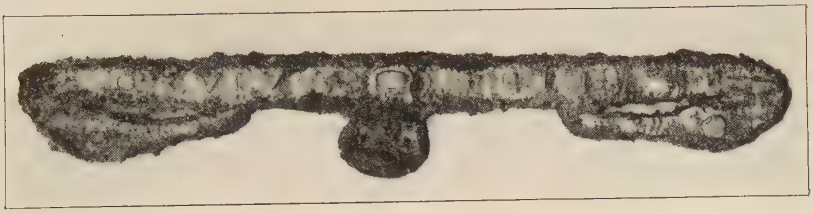
From Animal Ornament to the Art of Holbein

THAT, in the course of development, the organic direction of Classical ornament gradually gives up its generality and turns to the particular, in other words, that it takes from nature unusually pregnant embodiments of organic law as ornamental motives, is a wholly natural, unconstrained process. Instead of reproducing the latent law of natural formations, the Classical artist now reproduces these natural formations themselves [Pl. V, A], not copying naturalistically, to be sure, but completely preserving the ideal character. He presents only ideal synopses of them, which suffice to display the law of organic structure. Organic law discovers itself to him in such pragmatic purity as he wishes only in the vegetable kingdom. He finds in this a sort of grammar of organic rules, and, clearly, he who formerly spoke only in signs, as it were—that is, only in organically turned, organically rhythmical line designs—now, on the basis of this natural grammar, learns to express himself more directly, more fluently, more vividly, and more accurately. In short, the plant motives of Classical ornament are a natural efflorescence of its organic basis.

The case is different with the animal motives of northern ornament [Pls. IX and X]. They do not grow naturally and freely from the nature of northern drawing but belong to quite another world and in connection with this drawing touch our sensibility in a very paradoxical and inexplicable way. Any comparison between the nature of Classical plant ornament and the nature of northern animal ornament is out of the question. Their genesis, sense, and purpose are fundamentally dissimilar and absolutely incommensurable. We only need to look at the northern animal ornament somewhat more closely in order to become conscious of the peculiarity of its nature, which is not measurable by Classical standards of value.

We stated at the beginning of these remarks on ornament that northern ornament is of purely abstract character and contains no representation of natural prototypes. The situation is not substantially modified by the existence of this animal ornament. For the latter is not the result of direct observation of nature but consists of fanciful formations that develop more or less arbitrarily out of linear fantasy without which they have no existence. It is a playing with memories of nature within the limits of this abstract art of line without any of the intention of exactness peculiar to natural observation. Haupt says: "The animal world is drawn into the network, not at all as an imitation of nature, but merely for pure surface decoration. The animal displays a head, one or more legs, and its body is wound in and out like that of a snake; often made up of several similar animals agglomerated into an intricate knotted ball, the design covers the available field just like a tapestry, and usually only a trained eye can discover that there are any animal forms present or intended here. The uninitiated sees the whole as mere network. But where at the points and extremities real parts of bodies do come out, they are so completely cut up and decorated and hidden by lines, scallops, and the like that one can hardly tell what they originally were."

This zoömorphic ornament may, accordingly, have originated as follows: in the case of certain purely linear formations the distant remembrance of animal forms came to mind; for definite reasons, to which we shall return below, these memories were followed out by making the resemblance more noticeable and clear, either by indicating eyes with dots or by something of that sort. All this took place without compromising the purely abstract linear character of the ornament. That it was not the memory of a definite animal, but only a general memory of animal life which was active is proven by the fact that elements taken from most diverse animals were unscrupulously brought together. Only later naturalization made these creatures into the familiar fabulous animals, that were



A.

B.

C.

EXAMPLES OF ZOÖMORPHIC ORNAMENT. MEROVINGIAN
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

fondly but unintelligently taken over by later ornament. These creations were originally only the offspring of a *linear* fantasy, outside of which they have no existence, not even in the imagination of northern man.

We were saying that with these fabulous zoömorphs there crept into the abstract play of line distorted memories of nature. Now that is not quite exactly expressed. For this is not a question of memories of nature, but of memories of actuality. This distinction is of decisive significance for the whole Gothic problem. For the actual is by no means identical with the natural. One can have a very sharp grasp of actuality without thereby coming nearer to nature. We recognize, rather, the natural in the actual only when the notion of the organic has been born in us and has rendered us capable of active, discerning observation. Only then is the chaos of the actual dissolved for us in the cosmos of the natural. The notion of organic law can, however, become vital only where a relationship of ideal identity between man and world is reached, as happened in the Classical epochs. From this relationship proceeds automatically the clarification of the outer world, for it is empathy, the result of the consciousness of identity, that modifies all the inarticulate sounds of actuality into fixed, organically clear word forms.

In his relationship to the world northern man was still far from that ideal identity. The world of the natural was therefore still closed to him. But actuality pressed upon him all the more intensely. Since he saw it with naïve eyes, uncultivated by any discernment of the natural, it revealed itself to him in all sharpness, with all its thousand details and accidents. Through this sharpness of its grasp of actuality northern art differentiates itself from Classical. The latter evades the caprice of actuality and rests entirely upon nature and her concealed orderliness, and its organically rhythmic language of line can therefore pass over freely into direct representation of the natural.

Northern art, on the other hand, grows out of the combination of an abstract linear language with the reproduction of actuality. The first stage of this combination is just what we have in northern zoömorphic ornament. The inherent expression of the line and its spiritual, non-sensuous expressiveness were not weakened at all by this insertion of motives from actuality; for in this actuality the natural, the organic, was still completely concealed, and only the admission of such values of *organic* expression would have weakened the abstract character of the drawing. But with values of actuality this abstract linear character readily amalgamated; in fact, these motives of actuality can even, as we saw, involuntarily evolve from this abstract linear fantasy. For what is characteristic in our impressions of actuality leaves its stamp in a linear abbreviation, the several lines of which contain succinct expressive power that far exceeds the function of the line as mere contour. This oscillation between the characteristic line of actuality and the independent line that pursues its inherent expression is clearest in caricature. Here the summary expressive force of the single line threatens at every moment to break down into something like mere arabesque, while, conversely, at the beginning of the development the purely abstract play of line tends readily to assume the character of actuality.

Yet such accidental origin of suggestions of reality applies only to the initial stages of the development of northern ornament. As the development progressed, with the growing self-consciousness of artistic ability, the northerner, like any highly developed man, felt the need of mastering the phenomena of the outer world artistically, that is, of extracting them from the great fluctuating phenomenal sequence and of fixing them in perceptible form. Man's path to this artistic fixing is alike at all times: translation of the outer objects that are to be represented into the vocabulary of the form will of the time. This vocabulary of the form will must be established before the artistic mastery of the outer world is undertaken. For it is *a priori* to artistic

work. We know where the *a priori* form will crystallizes: it is in ornament. This fixes the *a priori* form will in paradigmatical purity, that is, becomes the precise barometer of the relation in which the particular society stands to the world. Only after the grammar of artistic language has been established in this way, can man go about the translation of outer objects into this language.

The *a priori* form will of primitive man is represented by the expressionless geometric line, that invariable value that stands as the direct counterpole of all life [Pl. II]. This prescribes the path of his artistic adjustment to the outer world. He translates objects into this language of a lifeless geometry. He geometrizes them and thereby overcomes their expression of vitality. For him the goal of art, as it is set by his absolutely dualistic relationship to the world, consists in this unsparing conquest of all expression of life.

The form will of Classical man is recorded in the organic rhythmic line of his ornament. He approaches outer objects with this ornamental idiom. To him artistic representation means clear reproduction of the organic expressional value of objects, means transference of the expressional value of his language of ornament to the objects to be represented.

Now, through the analysis of northern ornament, we have come to know also the nature of the Gothic form will. We saw in this linear fantasy with its feverishly intensified activity, lacking all organic moderation, the intense longing to create a world of nonsensuous, or supersensuous, mental complexes of expression, to be absorbed in which must have been a liberating intoxicate joy to northern man, who was bound by a chaotic picture of actuality. His artistic adjustment with the world could, therefore, have no other aim than that of assimilating the outer objects to his specific language of line, that is, of turning them into this activity, strained and intensified to the maximum expressive power. All that the outer world offered was only confused impressions of actuality. These he

grasped clearly and in all details; but the mere objective imitation of these would not yet have meant art to him; for it would not have freed the individual impression of actuality from the general fluctuating phenomenal sequence. Only the combination of these impressions of actuality with those intensified mental complexes of expression made art out of the objective imitation. Coming at it from other viewpoints, Lamprecht interprets the situation as follows: "It is a time when ornament is still the only means of expression at the disposal of the artist. It is not that the Germanic eye could not have seen the animal world in its infinitely varied forms and changing movements just as well as our eye. Surely, people did not see things at that time as in the ornament, that is, in the rough. But whenever the eye communicated aesthetic visions, whenever it was to help the artist in artistic reproduction of nature, its receptive capacity, its ability to grasp, appeared so limited that only the ornamental reflection was felt to be the really aesthetic presentation of natural forms."

Thus results, then, the specific double effect, or hybrid effect, of all Gothic art: on the one hand the sharpest direct grasp of actuality, on the other a super-actual fantastic play of line that pays no attention to any object and lives on its inherent expression alone. The whole evolution of Gothic representative art is determined by this counter-play and interplay. The following are, briefly sketched, the steps in this artistic adjustment of northern man to actuality (it is always a matter merely of actuality; nature enters into the northerner's sphere of vision and knowledge only with the Renaissance, which represents, therefore, the *dénouement* of the genuine development).

At the beginning is found absolute dualism between man and actuality. Actual things are completely involved in the super-actual play of line; they entirely vanish in it. The dynamics of artistic volition are here strongest; the overcoming of actuality is most consistent. It is the stage of zoömorphic ornament.

In the course of mental progress the originally strict dualism of man and actuality wears slowly

away, while also in art the actual receives more emphasis in comparison to the non-actual, though this latter continues to prevail. As the value of the actual raises higher claims, its amalgamation with those non-actual elements of spiritual expression becomes all the more noticeable, and the hybrid character of Gothic is for that reason most pronounced at this stage. This stage is represented on the one side by Gothic cathedral statuary, on the other by Gothic treatment of drapery.

The connection of Gothic cathedral statuary with early animal ornament is relatively close. As in the latter the animal forms are completely absorbed in an independent linear activity, so in the former the statues are completely absorbed in an independent architectural activity of extreme expressive power. These forms attained such a spiritual expression as the Gothic artist required only by becoming part of a spiritual world of expression extraneous to them. Removed from their setting the ornamental animal forms, like the cathedral statues, are dead, senseless, and expressionless. They acquire their spiritual expressiveness, which is their value as Gothic art, only by their absorption into either the abstract drawing or the abstract construction, whose respective expressional values are transferred to them. For the psychologist of style there lies between animal ornament and cathedral statuary only the qualified difference that the more advanced development entails: vague suggestions of animals have become statues with sharply stamped physiognomies, confused drawing has become refined construction.

The Gothic treatment of drapery [Pl. XI, B] shows us the stage where the factors of actuality balance their opposites; both have equivalent development, but oppose each other abruptly, irreconcilably, in unconcealed duality. For the contrast of body and drapery, which is so charactertistic of middle Gothic art, is nothing but the contrast of actuality and non-actuality, or super-actuality. To be sure, one can really speak only of contrast of face and drapery, for in these representations the body does not appear at all as different from the drapery, and the whole sharp-

ness of the apprehension of actuality is concentrated on the naturalism of facial treatment. This magnificent, accurate naturalism is opposed and equalized by the drapery complex, which the Gothic artist converted into a scene of non-actuality, into an artful chaos of violently agitated lines with a strange, independent vitality and expressiveness.

That which here stands unreconciled and for our modern eye senselessly opposed reaches in the highest stage of northern development an ideal reconciliation, particularly in the graphic art of line of a Dürer or Holbein [Pl. XI, A]. Here naturalism and spiritual expressiveness are no longer antitheses, here they are no longer brought into a superficial connection, but into an inner union. The intention of spiritualization has, to be sure, lost its great dynamic force, but it is so sublimated, so completely assimilated that it is able to identify itself with that spiritual expression which proceeds from the representation or even the thing represented. This spiritual expressiveness, therefore, is no longer forced upon actuality from without but is produced by it. The reproduction of actuality and the abstract play of line reach a fusion which we owe, as has been said, to Dürer's and Holbein's power of graphic characterization, which, within the bounds of *formative* art, is the utmost attainable under the artistic conditions existent in the north and is therefore in its perfection unparalleled in all art history. The power of graphic characterization is quite unthinkable without this earlier practice in purely abstract line. This practice first made it possible for the inherent expression of the line, for its independent spiritual existence, to enter into so happy a combination with the ancillary function of the line, dependent upon the object, that the spiritual expressional value of the line becomes likewise interpreter of the spiritual energy of the thing represented. At this stage the *competition* of spiritual expression and reproduction of actuality becomes a *coöperation* which produces the highest power of spiritual characterization known to art history. In this concentration of *spiritual* energies the Gothic

A. DEATH AND THE CARDINAL. ENGRAVING BY HOLBEIN
(*Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*)

B. PROPHET. LATE GOTHIC

C. SQUARE PILLAR. ROMANESQUE

(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

culminates, the northern abstract art of line culminates; and one cannot better emphasize the contrast between Gothic and Classic than by introducing for comparison Michelangelo, with whom, in a manner, the Classical, that is, organically defined art of expression, reaches its culmination: the mightiest presentation of sensuous energies is here opposed to the mightiest presentation of spiritual energies. Thus runs the contrast of Classic and Gothic. And it may only be indicated here that northern art, after it has been deprived of all sure orientation by taking up the incompatible Classical elements offered by the European Renaissance, manifests no longer in form, but only in content, the spiritual expressiveness which its whole constitution requires and which has now been robbed of its proper channel, the abstract line. Indeed, the distinction between form and content, that no autochthonous art knows, is first brought into northern art just through this general artistic disorientation. The inclination of northern art to allegorical references, to literary significance, is the last resource of that desire for spiritual expression which, after being deprived of the possibility of natural formal embodiment by the dominance of an alien world of forms, is now grafted on the art production so superficially and inartistically. The strongest northern painters after the Renaissance have been disguised men of letters, disguised poets, and to that extent, unfortunately, those critics are not entirely in the wrong who consider the essence of German art inseparably connected with this literary note. That only throws a more livid light on the catastrophe of the northern Renaissance and only excuses, at the same time, those who have revolted from an art that has lost its ideal unity and who have sought attachment where the artistic will still knows how to express itself in a purely formal manner. And in modern Europe that is probably still the case only in France, which has in addition produced in its modern art a sort of synthesis between northern spirituality and southern sensuality.

Transcendentalism of the Gothic World of Expression

WE said that the *a priori* form will of a period of human history was always the adequate barometer of its relationship to the surrounding world. So, from the character of the Gothic form will, as we have, through the analysis of northern ornament, become acquainted with it in its crudest but most striking form, an understanding of the relation in which northern man stood to the outer world must be disclosed to us.

To orientate ourselves we again have recourse to the great model examples of human history, as we have established them in earlier chapters. There the orderly connection between form will and cosmic sense was quite clear. Thus, we saw in the case of primitive, mentally undeveloped man, an absolute dualism, a relationship of unmitigated fear toward the phenomenal world, which in matters of art was naturally expressed in his need of saving himself from the caprice of the phenomenal world and of clinging to self-created values of invariable and unconditional character. His art is consequently anchored in a need for salvation and that gives it a transcendental character.

Oriental art, which likewise grows out of the need for salvation, has the same transcendental character. The difference between the two, as we saw, is not one of kind, but of degree, as follows from the difference between primitivity and culture. The generic similarity of psychic conditions shows itself, in spite of all inequality, by the fact that in both the form will is bound to the abstract line, which is not organically moderated. Wherever the abstract line is the vehicle of the form will, art is transcendental, is conditioned by needs of salvation. The organically determined line, on the other hand, indicates that all need of salvation in

a broad sense is abated and diminished to a mere individual need of salvation such as is present, after all, in any inclination toward order and harmony. Art is then no longer transcendental in a broad sense.

In the case of the Gothic, therefore, we conclude that this state of abatement and moderation can not yet have been reached; for the need of salvation is already indicated as psychic presupposition of Gothic art by the fact that in it the abstract line without organic moderation is the vehicle of the form will. On the other hand, we see that this need of salvation is plainly distinguished from that of primitive and Oriental man; for while primitive and Oriental man go to the extreme limit in the artistic expression of their longing for salvation and achieve freedom from the tormenting caprice of the living phenomenal world only through the contemplation of dead, expressionless values, we see the Gothic line full of expression, full of vitality. In contrast to Oriental fatalism and quietism, here is a longing, urgent agitation, a restless activity [Pl. XI, B]. The dualistic relation to the outer world can therefore not be present in such force as in the case of primitive and Oriental man, nor can it be so worn away by knowledge as with Classical man; for in that case the line clarified in organic fashion would proclaim the conquest of all dualistic anxiety.

That the Gothic line is essentially abstract and at the same time of very strong vitality tells us that this is a differentiated, intermediate state in which dualism is no longer strong enough to look for artistic liberation in absolute negation of life, but also not yet so weakened as to derive the meaning of art from the organic law of life itself. Thus, the Gothic form will shows neither the calm expression of absolute lack of knowledge, as in the case of primitive man, nor the calm expression of absolute renunciation of knowledge, as in the case of Oriental man, nor yet the calm expression of established belief in knowledge, as recorded in the organic harmony of Classic art. Its true nature seems, rather, to be an uneasy anxiety that in its seeking for satisfaction, in its pursuit of salvation, can find no other comfort than

that of stupefaction, than that of intoxication. The dualism, no longer sufficient for negation of life, and already waning because of knowledge that nevertheless is withholding complete contentment, becomes an obscure mania for intoxication, a convulsive longing to be absorbed in a supersensuous ecstasy, a pathos whose real nature is intemperance.

Thus, the Gothic soul is already clearly reflected in northern ornament. The curves of its sensibility are what the line here describes. That which lives in this tangle of lines is the soul's life; the dissatisfaction, the constant greed for new acceleration and finally the impulse that loses itself in the infinite is the soul's impulse. The soul has lost the innocence of ignorance, but has been unable to push forward to the Oriental's haughty repudiation of knowledge, or to the Classical man's joy in knowledge, and so, robbed of all clear, natural satisfaction, it can only give off its vital powers in a convulsive unnatural way. Only this violent exaltation carries it off to spheres of sensibility in which it at last loses the sense of its inner discord and finds release from its uneasy, obscure relation to the world. Being distressed by the actual, excluded from the natural, it aspires to a world above the actual, above the sensuous. It requires a frenzy of feeling in order to transcend itself. Only in intoxication does it feel the touch of the eternal. This sublime hysteria is that which above all else characterizes the Gothic phenomenon.

The same convulsion of feeling that northern ornament expresses in the pathos of its linear fantasy subsequently produces the non-sensuous, supersensuous pathos of Gothic architecture. A straight path leads from northern ornament to Gothic architecture. The form will which was originally capable of expressing itself only in the free, unencumbered theatre of ornamental activity gradually becomes so strong that it finally succeeds also in bending the hard, unwieldy stuff of architecture to its purpose and even in finding here—goaded to the highest exertion by the natural opposition—its most imposing expression.

This quality of pathos can be pointed out as a fundamental element of northern form will in other fields, as well. The quite unique interlocking of words and sentences in early northern poetry, with its artful chaos of interwoven ideas, the alliterated expressive rhythm, with its intricate repetition of initial sounds (corresponding to the repetition of motive in ornament and, like it, giving the effect of a confused endless melody)—all these are unmistakable analogies to northern ornament. German poetry is unacquainted with the expression of rest and of equilibrium: everything is directed toward movement. "Thus, the poetry of the Teutons knows no contemplative absorption into a calm condition; their poetry dreams no deedless idyll; only stirring action and strongly streaming feeling arrest their attention. . . . Our ancestors must have been peculiarly susceptible to pathos; otherwise the construction of this poetry cannot be the true expression of inner mood" (Lamprecht).

We therefore find that corroborated which the character of northern ornament has already betrayed to us. Where the intensification of pathos dominates, there must be inner dissonances to drown out; all pathos is foreign to the healthy soul. Only where the soul is denied its natural vents, only where it has not yet found its balance, does it relieve its inner pressure in such unnatural acceleration. Think of the extravagant pathos of puberty, when, under stress of critical inner adjustments, the pursuit of spiritual intoxication is so excessive. "Now, so much is certain, that the indefinite and diffuse susceptibilities of youth and of backward people are alone adapted to the *sublime,* which whenever it is to be aroused in us by exterior objects must be *formless* or *in incomprehensible forms* and must surround us with a grandeur that is beyond us. . . . But as the sublime is very easily produced by dusk and night, where shapes fuse, it is, on the contrary, dispelled by daylight, which defines and separates everything, and thus it must be blighted by each developing form." These words of Goethe could stand as motto for our whole study.

The ornamental paradigm tells us enough about the discord that determined the form will of the Gothic. Where harmony obtains between man and outer world, where the inner balance is found, as in the case of Classical man, the demand for form operates as a demand for harmony, for fulfillment, for organic perfection. It rounds the happy and felicitous forms, which correspond to the intellectual security and consequent inner joy of existence. Perplexed by no obstruction, exalted by no passion for transcendency, it expends its whole vitality within the bounds of human organic being. A glance at Greek ornament proves it.

The Gothic soul, however, lacks this harmony. With it the inner and outer world are still unreconciled, and these unreconciled antitheses urge a solution in transcendental spheres, a solution in exalted conditions of the soul. It is important that a final solution, therefore, is still held possible, there is yet no consciousness of ultimate dualism. The antitheses are not yet considered as irreconcilable, but only as still unreconciled. The difference between the abstract line, void of expression, of Oriental man and the abstract line, intensified in expression, of Gothic man is just the difference between an ultimate dualism resting on deepest cosmic insight and a provisional dualism resting on an undeveloped stage of knowledge, that is, the difference between the lofty quietism of old age and the extravagant pathos of youth.

The dualism of Gothic man is not superior to knowing, as in the case of Oriental man, but prior to knowing. It is partly his vague foreboding, partly his bitter experience. His dualistic suffering is not yet refined into reverence. He continues to struggle against the inevitability of dualism and he seeks to overcome it by unnatural exaltation of feeling. The feeling of dualistic distraction, which is neither overcome in the Classical sense by rational, sensuous knowledge, nor alleviated and transfigured in Oriental fashion by deep metaphysical insight, disquiets and troubles him. He feels like a slave to higher powers that he can only dread and not revere. Between the Greek worship of

the world, which has originally resulted from rationalism and naïve sensuality, and the Oriental renunciation of the world, which has been elevated to religion, he stands with his unhappy fear of the world, a product of earthly restlessness and metaphysical anxiety. And since rest and serenity are denied him, he has no alternative but to intensify his unrest and confusion to that point where they bring him stupefaction, where they bring him deliverance.

The northerner's need of activity, which is denied conversion into clear knowledge of actuality and which is intensified by this lack of a natural vent, finally unburdens itself in an unhealthy fantastic activity. This intensified fantastic activity lays hold of the actual, which Gothic man could not yet convert into the natural by means of clear knowledge, and changes it into the phantasmagoria of intensified and distorted actuality. All is transformed into the uncanny, the fantastic. Behind the obvious appearance of things lurks their shapeless caricature, behind the lifelessness of things an uncanny ghastly life; and everything actual becomes grotesque [Pl. VII]. Thus, the passion for knowledge, prevented from its natural satisfaction, vents itself in wild fantasy. And as an underground current flows from the confused play of line in northern ornament to the refined art of construction in Gothic architecture, so a current flows from this confused fantasy of mental infancy to the refined construction of scholasticism. All have in common the passion for movement that is not connected with any goal and therefore loses itself in the infinite. In the ornament and in the early visionary life we see mere chaos; in Gothic architecture and scholasticism this raw chaos has become an artful, refined chaos. The form will remains unaltered throughout the whole development, but it passes through all stages from utmost primitivity to utmost culture.

Northern Religious Feeling

HOWEVER little the religious feeling of northern man before the reception of Christianity is known to us, however much the sources deny us here, the general nature of this feeling can nevertheless be outlined. A sleepless fantasy of religious turn, with unclear discrimination, with fusion of the actual and the non-actual seems to have been characteristic in this respect, as well. Between the beautiful, clear-cut plastic character of the Classical Olympus and the entirely immaterial, impersonal transcendentalism of the Orient the hybrid formation of the northern world of gods and spirits takes a middle place. Just as one expects to understand these gods, they evaporate again into chimeras, and between the shaped and the shapeless there seem to be no transitions, no boundaries. "The shapes of the divinities contain something incomprehensible: whenever they are personified, the direction of their powers would seem to mock the application of any human standard. This is apparently the reason why the Teutonic gods seem irregular in their shape, variable in the division of their functions. As a general rule, the chief gods, at least, were conceived as impersonal beings in the mysterious shades of the forests" (Lamprecht).

In the crude eudemonism of its general ideas northern religion does not differ much from other nature religions. But behind this first observable eudemonism a searching eye discovers at once the vast substratum of ideas of dread, which germinate from dualistic discontent and impregnate the northern pantheon with ghosts, specters, and spooks. There is at work here a passion for creating fantastic shapes, which creates from the play of impressions a play of wild, confused spirits who here and there assume a shape only to evaporate again into shapelessness when more closely examined. A certain wavering, a restless agitation is common to this whole

world of specters and ghosts. The northerner knows nothing calm, his whole creative power is concentrated upon the idea of unrestrained, immeasurable activity. The storm spirits are his closest kin.

We have only fragmentary information concerning the religious cult also. Far from devout reverence and absorption in deity, the cult exhausts itself, rather, in a solicitous and sacrificing conjuration and appeasement of uncertain supernatural powers.

In the difference between northern and Classical pantheons we best catch the peculiarity of Germanic religious feeling. In the former there is an irregular, impersonal agitation, an impetuous presence of practically abstract forces, which take a shape only temporarily and even then a deceptive, enigmatic, irritating one (just as in the ornament the impetuous presence of abstract lines is also interspersed with concrete suggestions [Pl. VIII, C]); in the latter, on the contrary, there is a self-satisfied, tangible presence of clear, undeceptive and unenigmatic sculptural quality [Pl. IV]. Nor did the Greek race reach this culmination of organic creative power all at once; it, too, had to overcome old dualistic disquietude, partially the residue of crude developmental stages, partially the infection of Oriental spiritualism. But the Homeric Greek, with his polytheism, already stands in the full sunlight, and all phantoms and hobgoblins have vanished. The development from obscure fear of ghosts, from vague, unrefined fatalism to a cosmic conception of the world and the corresponding plastic conception of the gods Erwin Rohde traces in his *Psyche* as follows: "The Homeric Greek feels in the bottom of his heart his limitations, his dependence upon powers without. Gods rule over him with magic power, often with unwise judgment, but there is wakened the idea of a general world order, of a fitting together according to allotted parts of the interrelated episodes in the life of the individual and of the whole (μοῖρα); the caprice of the individual demons is put within bounds. The belief is proclaimed that the world is a cosmos, a good order,

such as human governments strive to effect. By the side of such ideas the belief in the disorderly doings of ghosts cannot well continue to thrive. These doings of ghosts are always recognizable in contrast to genuine divinity by the fact that they are excluded from any activity which goes to form a consistent whole and that they leave free play to the evil desires of the various invisible powers. The irrational, the inexplicable, is the kernel of the belief in spirits; upon this rests the peculiar weirdness of this field of belief or illusion; upon this rests, moreover, the unsteady fluctuation of its shapes. The Homeric religion is already rationalized, its gods are fully comprehensible to the Greek mind, fully clear and plainly recognizable to the Greek fancy in shape and behavior."

Something of service to us as an important sidelight on our Gothic problem is clearly expressed here: the beautiful, sculptural character of the Greek Olympus does not exclude, as one might think, a rationalistic conception of the world, but is its direct complement as the other aspect of an anthropocentric, an anthropomorphic, creative power, that draws its vigor from the felicitous feeling of unity with the outer world.

Unfortunately, no Rohde has yet appeared to write for us the northern *Psyche*. As has been said, we are here groping almost entirely in the dark; for the material that we have is very meager and, furthermore, distorted by later additions of Christian prejudice. The sparse records concerning the religious views of the northern races confirm for us, however, as we have seen, what the early art had to say to us in regard to the hybrid character of their psychical economy. Northern mythology of later times can be used only with great care for the interpretation of northern religious feeling, because its connection with the purely religious sensibility is only a very loose one. It belongs more to the history of literature than to the history of religion.

We get, however, the best information concerning the northern psychical make-up not from direct inter-

pretation, but from conclusions we can draw with full certainty from later, better recorded stages of development. And from this standpoint the most pregnant fact is the reception of Christianity by the north. A people does not accept even by force any religion of a nature absolutely alien to it. Certain conditions of resonance must precede. If the soil is in no way prepared, strong and brutal compulsion can no doubt bring an outer and superficial acceptation of a religion but can never force it to take deeper root. And Christianity did take root not only in the upper soil but also in the subsoil of northern feeling, although it could not reach into all strata. Certain psychical conditions must therefore have made ready for the reception. All the mythological polytheism had not been able to bury a certain fantastic trend of the northern soul toward monotheism. Indeed, this trend became constantly stronger and finally led to the twilight of the gods, to the overthrow of the old polytheistic ghost-like conception of the gods; in their place came the dark, inexorable, fatal power of the norns. The development pressed forward, therefore, toward a monotheism, and since, in addition to this, Christianity offered with its cult of saints and martyrs a certain compensation for the not yet wholly suppressed polytheistic needs, the exchange of mythological for Christian ideas was well prepared for.

Yet for the north the greatest persuasive power of Christianity lay in its systematic elaboration. The system of Christianity with its completeness won over the northerner with his lack of system and his chaotic, hazy mysticism.

Northern man lacked the strength for independent erection of a fixed form for his own transcendental needs. His psychical powers were dissipated in inner conflict and so came to no united achievement. The need to act was worn off along the devious path by many obstacles, and what remained was the sense of a melancholy weakness that then longed for the stupor of intoxication. This conscious enervation made northern man, as long as he did not attain to inner maturity, defenceless against any ready system imposed upon him

from without, whether Roman law or Christianity. When, as in Christianity, chords of his own torn nature echoed, when his indefinite, hazy, transcendental ideas met in it a wonderfully built logical system of related, transcendental character, this system was bound to have a convincing effect, was bound to take unawares and subdue any slight disagreement. Then the longing to relax in a fixed form was sure to overcome all discrepancy between his own and foreign ideas. The subject-matter, contents, secondary material of his own conceptions, were subordinated to the foreign viewpoints and thus accommodated to the new form more quickly than one might expect from the sluggish northerner. Yet the system of Christianity always remained only a substitute for the form which for the present northern man could not create of his own power. So there could be no question of a full, unreserved identification with Christianity, and though the north, tempted by the ready form, did surrender to it, many sides of its nature remained excluded from this form it had not created. It was reserved for the climax of northern development, the mature Gothic, to find a form corresponding to this dualistic, hybrid nature and to systematize the chaotic mania for intoxication. Only Christian scholasticism and, in a much higher degree, Gothic architecture are the real fulfilment of this northern form will, so difficult to satisfy; hence, they will again occupy us at length. Meanwhile, it is sufficient to see confirmed by the fact of the acceptance of Christianity those judgments in regard to the nature of northern man at which we arrived by the one path of the psychological analysis of the style that he manifested in his earliest art. For the analysis permitted us to recognize the form will which is adequate to his relationship to the outer world and therefore determines all that he manifests in his life.

The Principle of Classical Architecture

EVERY age attacks with especial energy that particular artistic activity that most closely corresponds to its peculiar form will; it gives preference to the art or the technique whose peculiar means of expression offer the best guarantee that this form will can be uttered freely and easily. Therefore, by interrogating the historical facts and by learning what arts dominate in the various epochs, we have already found the most important and fundamental tool for determining the form will of the respective epochs. By means of it we reach practically the only correct standpoint from which we can approach the interpretation of the style phenomena in question. For example, if we know that in Classical antiquity sculpture, and especially sculptural representation of the human ideal of beauty, dominated, it gives us immediately the theme, the fundamental principle of Greek art, it gives us immediately the key that unlocks the holy of holies of all the other Greek arts. The Greek temple, for instance, cannot be understood independently; only after we are acquainted with the fundamental principle of Greek art creation in paradigmatic purity as it is represented in Greek sculpture, shall we understand the Greek temple and be able to realize with what feeling the Greek sought and was able to express with purely static, purely constructive terms, that law of the beauty of organic existence, for which he found, at the zenith of his art, the most direct and lucid expression in the immediate sculptural representation of the human ideal. Likewise, we shall understand the growth of the arts of the Italian Renaissance only after we have heard and understood the last and clearest word that Raphael had to say.

Every style phenomenon has such a culmination, in which the respective form will teems as if in a culture

of bacteria. Now, in regard to the Gothic, if we ask ourselves in what art or what art technique it gave off most of its vital forces, there can be no doubt of the answer. We only need to say the word *Gothic* to call up immediately our close association of ideas of Gothic architecture. This invariable connection of ideas between Gothic and architecture agrees with the historical fact that the Gothic epoch is wholly dominated by architecture, and that all the other arts either are directly dependent, or, at any rate, play a secondary rôle.

Whenever we speak of the art of Classical antiquity, it is characteristic that ancient sculpture with the names of its masters comes to mind as our first association of ideas; whenever we speak of the Italian Renaissance, the first names on our lips are Masaccio, Leonardo, Raphael, and Titian; but whenever we speak of the Gothic, there immediately stands before us the image of Gothic cathedrals. And with the above-mentioned inner connection between Gothic and Baroque accords the fact that in the latter, too, architecture stands out as the most closely associated idea.

The concept *Gothic,* therefore, is inseparable from the image of Gothic cathedrals; all the tumultuous energies of the form will reach in Gothic architecture their brilliant conclusion, their fulfilment that is like an apotheosis. And it may be said here in advance that in this, its extreme feat of strength, the Gothic form will gave out and ran itself to death; only thus is its impotence against the invasion of the foreign art ideal of the Renaissance explicable.

What the analysis of northern ornament has foretold to us of the nature of the Gothic form will, we find, then, confirmed by the absolute predominance of architecture in the Gothic. For since the language of architecture is abstract, since the laws of its construction are distinct from all organic law and are rather of an abstract, mechanical sort, so in the Gothic tendency to express itself in architecture we see only a parallelism to the ornament, which, as we saw, was governed by the inherent expression (that is, by the mechanical expressional value) of the line, hence was governed likewise by abstract values.

Consequently, ornament and architecture play the leading part in the Gothic. They alone, by virtue of their means of expression, vouchsafe an artistic manifestation adequate to the form will. A certain danger to the exact transcription of the form will is present in the case of sculpture, painting, and drawing; in fact they contain starting points for the realization of the Classical form will, which make it clear how the authority of the Renaissance gained a footing through them and dispossessed the old form will.

Those expressional tendencies to which the play of abstract lines in the ornament had given so unique an inflection were bound to remain valid for Gothic architecture, as well. Our investigation of the nature of Gothic architecture is to uphold this statement. And, as a foil, we shall constantly bear in mind Classical architecture, for it shows us the opposite case of a form will that, by nature, has to express itself organically and not abstractly, overcoming the abstraction of architectural means of expression.

For the architectonic world is vast, and its possibilities of expression are just as wide and unlimited as its laws and means of expression are narrow. To be sure, the laws of all architecture are the same, yet not the expression of the architecture attained through the application of these laws. In this sense, in its artistic longing for expression, architecture is just as independent as the other arts that are especially emphasized as "free." The way in which the relatively small stock of structural problems is constantly varied into new forms of expression under pressure of the changing form will is just what makes up the history of architecture. The history of architecture is not a history of technical developments, but a history of the changing aims of expression, of the ways and means by which this technique conforms and ministers to the changing aims through ever new and different combinations of its fundamental elements. It is no more a history of technique than the history of philosophy is the history of logic. In this case, too, we see how logic, how the few fundamental problems of thinking, are

varied into ever new systems adequate to the respective *état d'âme*.

To sharpen our eye for understanding the possibilities of architectural expression, we wish to begin with an investigation of the principle of Classical architecture. For this is more readily intelligible to us because we are dependent in architecture, as in every other way, upon the ancient Classical tradition, rejuvenated by the European Renaissance. Even today a Greek philosopher is easier for us to read than is a mediaeval scholastic.

If we look for the architectural member most peculiar to Classical architecture, the column presents itself at once [Pl. XII]. The thing that gives the column its expression is its roundness. This roundness immediately calls forth the illusion of organic vitality, firstly, because it directly recalls the roundness of those natural members that exercise a similar carrying function, especially the tree trunk, that carries the head, or the stalk, that carries the blossom; secondly, however, the roundness in and for itself welcomes our natural organic sense without suggesting analogous ideas. We can look at nothing round without inwardly following out the process of the movement that created this roundness. We feel, as it were, the unconstrained security with which the centripetal forces concentrated in the middle, or in the axis, of the column hold in check and bring to rest the centrifugal forces; we feel the drama of this happy balance, feel the self-sufficiency of the column, feel the eternal melody swaying in the roundness, feel, above all, the calm produced by this perpetual self-enclosed movement. Thus, the column, like the circle, is the highest symbol of self-enclosed and perfected organic life.

But these are feelings wakened by the column as a single member, quite apart from its function in building. They become still stronger if we look at the column as a member of the structural organism. The structural function of the column is obviously that of carrying. This function would, of course, be performed just as well by a rectangular supporting member. The

A. TEMPLE OF NEPTUNE, PAESTUM

B. ERECHTHEUM, ATHENS

round column, therefore, is not necessary tectonically, but surely artistically, that is, according to the Classical principle of form. For it is important that the function of carrying be also *expressed,* made perceptible—that is, made directly intelligible for our organically determined sense. To this organic perceptive power the rectangular pillar would be a dead mass, on which our sense of vitality, our organic imagination could nowhere take hold [Pl. XI, C]. In the case of the round column, however, the imagination takes hold at once and experiences in participation the drama of forces that is enacted in this carrying and supporting member. The emphasis of the height over the breadth is immediately decisive. If we were going to interpret this difference of dimensions organically, we should say that the activity of compression is subordinated to the activity of self-erection. We feel how the column pulls itself together, how it concentrates its entire forces from all sides toward the axis, in order to exercise with all its might the vertical, rising activity condensed in the axis—in short, we feel how it carries. Absolutely no clearer, more convincing, more satisfactory expression of secure and unrestricted carrying can be conceived than that represented in the column. With the rectangular support we should only be able to ascertain the fact that it carries (for the effect would convince us of that); but here we feel it, here we believe it, here it spells necessity for us, because it is brought into contact with our organic imagination.

To this is added the accentuation of the vertical direction by the system of fluting. One need only imagine this fluting following the column in its horizontal curve to see that then instead of the impression of lightly rising, there would result the impression of sinking, of collapsing under the burden. The passive function of burdening would in that case be more strongly expressed than the active function of carrying, and the expression of freedom in the adjustment of burden and power would be choked.

We see, therefore, how the Greek form will, which represents the harmonic Classical consciousness of

unity between man and outer world and consequently culminates in the presentation of organic life, is absorbed in the effort to make every tectonic necessity into an organic necessity. This effort expresses itself in most imposing fashion in the general arrangement of the Greek temple [Pl. XII, A], notably in the relation of cella and peristyle. Here we have a drastic example of how independent the architectural principle is from the architectural purpose, and of how far it soars above the latter. For the Greeks the practical architectural purpose was only to create for the cult statue of the deity an enclosed space protected from the weather. Yet this purpose of space creation could not be used aesthetically; for the Greek had no artistic relation to space. The specialty of the Hellene was, rather, sculpture, taken not in a strict but in a transferred sense—that is, all Greek thought, feeling, and experience aimed at compact, clearly circumscribed corporeality, at a fixed, enclosed, substantial modality. So he had remoulded the whole incomprehensibility of the world into clear comprehensibility. Greek gods, Greek thought, Greek art—all retain the same immediately comprehensible sculptural quality. Everything immaterial is rejected; and space is the thing that is really immaterial. It is something spiritual, incomprehensible; and only when the Greek mind loses its naïve, sure, sculptural quality through contact with the Orient in Hellenistic times, only then does the Greek tectonics, independent of space, become an architecture that creates space.

The creation of the cella, therefore, could not satisfy the Greek form will; the architectural principle got no encouragement from the architectural purpose. The Greeks had to go far out of their way to convert the practical requirements into artistic requirements. With the peristyle they gave to the core, required by the practical purpose, a mask independent of any practical purpose, a dress that had no object but to correspond to the Greek sense of aesthetic fitness. The core of the building, as such, falls into the background aesthetically; what shows is only the tectonic outer frame in its clearly rhythmic, comprehensi-

ble, sculptural quality. Thus, a mere building of utility becomes a work of art.

The fundamental process of all pure tectonics is the adjustment of the encumbering superstructure to the carrying supports. This at bottom quite abrupt, almost cataclysmic meeting is organically refined and moderated by the Greek architectural sense, is changed by the system of column and architrave into a settled and pleasing spectacle of living forces which our eye follows with an inner feeling of satisfaction. The strict logic of construction is recast as a living organism, the exact counterpoint of lifeless architectonic laws becomes a harmonious rhythm corresponding to the inner rhythm of Greek sensibility.

The tendency to temper organically the adjustment of burden and power, which adjustment is, further, always one of vertical and horizontal directions, is expressed by the very creation of the gable. There is no immediate practical need of this, only an aesthetic one. Its aesthetic function is to terminate satisfactorily for organic feeling that sharp clash of the horizontal and the vertical systems which for static reasons is inevitable.

What the tympanum does on a large scale is performed on a small scale by the members mediating between the encumbering superstructure and the carrying supports, particularly by the capitals. The organically disciplined sense longs for a moderation of the clash between burden and power, for an organic mediation of the mechanical and unmediated, and it is precisely the capital which assumes the task of mediating and moderating. It makes the clash less cataclysmic because it leads up to it and lets it die away. It would take us too far afield to investigate in this connection the organic interpretative force of the details of the Greek system of column and architrave. Yet we do wish to point out merely the difference between the Doric and the Ionic orders, because it has already come up in dealing with ornament and has shown us how the Doric element in Hellenism forms the bond between Mediter-

ranean and northern culture. In the Doric temple [Pl. XII, A] it is characteristic that the organic refinement of constructive processes has not yet gone so far. A certain masculine ponderousness, a certain masculine reserve, keeps the Doric mind from freeing itself too much from the structural constraint of architecture. It still longs for a sublimity which is organically quite inexpressible and is present only in abstract language. It still betrays its northern origin in this propensity to a superhuman, supersensuous pathos. Of the Doric order Taine laconically says: "*Trois ou quatre formes élémentaires de la géometrie font tous les frais.*"

This quality of pathos involves the stronger expression of the encumbering than of the carrying forces in the Doric. The pressure of the burden is so heavy that the columns receiving it must be broadened; they swell out stoutly toward the bottom and so divert to the stylobate the pressure they themselves cannot master. They do not echo away within themselves as do the Ionic columns, which are plainly separated from the stylobate by a confining basis, but they reverberate underground, as it were.

The structural conservatism of the Doric temple and the consequent compactness of its general proportions make it ponderous, to be sure, but they add its peerless solemnity and majestic aloofness, as well. In the Ionic order [Pl. XII, B] everything becomes lighter, more fluent, livelier, more supple, and more nearly human. What is lost in stately seriousness is gained in expressive sprightliness. There is no more holding back because of the demands of the material itself, that is, because of structural laws. The stone is completely sensualized, completely filled with organic life, and all the restraint that makes up the dynamics and the grandeur of the Doric order is almost playfully overcome. We experience the Doric temple as an imposing drama, the Ionic as a felicitous spectacle of forces in free play.

The Principle of Gothic Architecture

WE get the best transition to the investigation of the principle of Gothic architecture and its wholly different nature from Greek tectonics by making clear to ourselves the relation of the two kinds of architecture to their material—stone. Architecture begins to be art only when it is no longer satisfied to employ stone as mere material for any sort of practical purpose and to handle it merely according to the dictates of its material laws, only when it tries to extract from these dead material laws an expression corresponding to a definite *a priori* artistic will. We have already seen that Greek art animates these dead laws of stone and makes a wonderful expressive organism, just as it animates in the case of ornament the dead abstract line of primitive art and makes an organically rounded and organically rhythmic line. It makes the rigid unsensuous logic of construction into a sensuously perceptible and sensuously comprehensible play of living forces. Logical laws and organic necessity are here brought into a synthesis which completely corresponds to the other ideal Classical syntheses of concept and percept, of thought and experience, of intelligence and sense. This synthesis is ideal because neither of the factors forming it is submerged; they are interrelated, coöperative, and complementary. That is equivalent to saying that this architectural synthesis is not obtained by violating the stone and its material laws, but the structural laws pass imperceptibly and without violence into the organic laws. Along with full emphasis of the stone and its material laws, Classical architecture succeeds in attaining, therefore, its living expressional value.

To emphasize the stone means to express architectonically the adjustment of burden and power. Since the essential quality of stone is weight, its architectonic employment is built up on the law of gravity. The primitive builder made use of the weight of stone only

for practical purposes, but the Classical builder for artistic ones as well. The latter emphasized it purposely, since he made the adjustment of burden and power the artistic principle of the building. He emphasized the stone by making its structural laws organically living laws, that is, by sensualizing it. All that Greek architecture achieved in expression it achieved *with* the stone, *by means of* the stone; all that Gothic architecture achieved in expression it achieved—here the full contrast comes out—*in spite of* the stone. The expression of the Gothic does not rest upon its material but arises only through its denial of this, only through its dematerialization.

If we glance at the Gothic cathedral [Pl. I], we see only a kind of petrified vertical movement in which the law of gravity seems to be wholly eliminated. In contrast to the natural downward pressure of the stone, we see only a prodigiously strong movement of forces upward. There is no wall, no mass, to communicate to us the impression of a fixed material existence; only a thousand individual forces speak to us, and of their materiality we are scarcely conscious, for they act only as bearers of an immaterial expression, as bearers of an unrestricted upward movement. We look in vain for an indication, wanted by our feeling, of the relationship between burden and power. No burden seems to exist at all. We see only free and unhindered forces that strive heavenward with a prodigious *élan*. Here the stone is apparently rid of all its material weight. Here it is only the vehicle of an unsensuous, incorporeal expression. In short, here it has become dematerialized.

This Gothic dematerialization of the stone in favor of a purely spiritual expressiveness corresponds to the degeometrization of the abstract line, such as we indicated in the ornament, in favor of an identical expressional purpose.

The antonym of matter is spirit. To dematerialize stone means to spiritualize it. And with that statement we have clearly contrasted the tendency of Gothic architecture to spiritualize with the tendency of Greek architecture to sensualize.

The Greek builder approaches his material, the stone, with a certain sensuousness; therefore, he lets the material speak in its own right. On the contrary, the Gothic builder approaches the stone with a desire for purely spiritual expression, that is, with structural intentions which are conceived artistically and independently of the stone, and for which the stone amounts to no more than external and unprivileged means of realization. The result is an abstract system of construction in which the stone plays only a practical, not an artistic rôle. The mechanical forces slumbering in the broad massiveness of the stone have been awakened by the Gothic expressional will, have become autonomous, and have so far devoured the mass of the stone that in place of the visible firmness of material appears only the statics of computation. In short, out of the stone as mass, with its heaviness, comes a bare structural framework of stone. The art of building, which had been a stone-layer's art, becomes a stone-cutter's art; it becomes a non-sensuous art of construction. The contrast between the organism of Classical architecture and the system of Gothic architecture becomes the contrast between a living, breathing body and a skeleton.

The Greek architecture is applied construction, the Gothic is pure construction. What is constructive in the former is only means to the practical end; in the latter it is the end in itself, for it agrees with the artistic expressional aim. Since the Gothic longing for expression could utter itself in the abstract speech of structural relations, the construction was pursued for its own sake far beyond its practical purpose. In this sense one might describe Gothic architecture as an objectless fury of construction, for it has no direct object, no directly practical purpose; it serves only the artistic expressional will. And we are acquainted with the goal of this Gothic expressional will: it is the longing to be absorbed in a non-sensuous, mechanical activity of the highest power. Later, in the discussion of scholasticism, that phenomenon parallel to Gothic architecture, we shall see how it, too, truly reflected the Gothic expressional will. Here, too, is an excess of structural

subtlety without direct object, that, is, without aiming at knowledge (for knowledge is indeed already determined by the revealed truth of church and dogma); here, too, is an excess of structural subtlety which serves no purpose except the creation of a continuously increasing, infinite activity in which the spirit loses itself as in intoxication. In the scholasticism, as in the architecture, there is the same logical frenzy, the same madness with method in it, the same outlay of reasoning for an unreasonable purpose. And if we recall now the confused chaos of northern ornament, which offered a kind of abstract, ethereal picture of an endless, aimless activity, we see how in this primeval, wakening, dull, artistic impulse to action there was only being prepared what was later perfected with such high refinement in architecture and scholasticism. The uniformity of the form will through many centuries comes out clearly.

Yet it would be a great mistake to consider scholasticism and Gothic architecture as nothing but logical juggling. They are such only for one who fails to see the expressional will which, standing behind this purely structural, or purely logical, system and using these structural elements only as means, aspires to the transcendental. Although we were just now saying that the structural part of Gothic architecture is an end in itself, that is true only in so far as this is precisely the most suitable vehicle of the artistic expressional will. For, in fact, in the Gothic the structural processes are not directly intelligible to us at all by mere observation, but only indirectly intelligible, only by a sort of computation on the drawing board. As we look, we are scarcely conscious of the structural significance of the individual member of the Gothic building; on the contrary, the individual member affects the observer only as the mimic bearer of an abstract expression. In fine, therefore, the sum total of logical calculations is not offered for its own sake, but for the sake of a superlogical effect. The resultant expression goes far beyond the means with which it was attained, and we inwardly experience the view of a Gothic cathe-

dral not as a spectacle of structural processes but as an outbreak of transcendental longing expressed in stone. A movement of superhuman momentum sweeps us away with it in the intoxication of an endless willing and craving; we lose the feeling of our earthly limitations, we are absorbed into an infinite movement that obliterates all consciousness of the finite.

In its art every people provides itself with ideal possibilities for the liberation of its sense of vitality. The Gothic man's sense of vitality is depressed by dualistic distraction and dissatisfaction. To relieve this depression he needs the highest state of exaltation, the highest quality of pathos. He builds his minsters into infinity, not because of playful joy in construction, but that the sight of this vertical movement, far exceeding all human measure, may set free in him that frenzy of feeling in which alone he can drown his inner discord, in which alone he can find happiness. The beauty of the finite is enough to raise the spirits of Classical man; the dualistically distracted, hence, transcendentally disposed Gothic man can detect the touch of the eternal only in the infinite. Classical architecture culminates, therefore, in beauty of expression, Gothic architecture in power of expression; the former speaks the language of organic existence, the latter the language of abstract values.

Posterity has seen only the logical values of Gothic and has had no eye for the superlogical, except when it has reduced this superlogical to the plane of the modern romantic mood and thereby quite overlooked the logical values. Apart from this romantic mood we find that Gothic architecture has been appreciated only as structural achievement. It was particularly discredited by its epigones, the representatives of the Gothic of the modern German architect, who were active in the nineteenth century. By that time people understood the Gothic only in word, not in spirit. Since they no longer had any psychical relation to the transcendental expressional will, they prized the Gothic only on account of its structural and decorative values, and, restoring and building anew, they created that dry, lifeless, empty

Gothic that does not seem the fruit of the spirit, but of a calculating machine.

Only modern steel construction [Pl. XIII] has brought back a certain inner understanding of the Gothic. For in it people have been confronted again with an architectural form in which the artistic expression is supplied by the method of construction itself. Yet, despite all outer relationship, an important inner difference is discernible. For in the modern case it is the material itself that directly encourages such structural one-sidedness, while the Gothic arrived at such ideas, not by means of the material, but in spite of the material, in spite of the stone. In other words, underlying the artistic appearance of modern buildings of steel construction is no form will that, for definite reasons, emphasizes structure, but only a new material. One may only go so far as to say, perhaps, that it is an atavistic echo of that old Gothic form will which prompts modern northern man to an artistic emphasis of this material and even allows the hope of a new architectural style to hang on its appropriate employment.

In Gothic the need for expression had been the primary element, and the material, the stone, did not favor it, but offered resistance. It won its way in spite of its dependence on the stone, and it thereby introduced a decisive, new phase into an architectural development, which had, likewise, been stone architecture, for the most part, and, as such, had been an architecture of either organic articulation like the Greek [Pl. XII], or structureless mass like the Oriental, or a mixture of the two like the Roman [Pl. XIV, B]. That the Gothic succeeded, after all these styles which really embody the tradition of stone construction, in creating an absolutely new thing, namely, the structural scaffold, the *mechanical* articulation— accordingly, the exact opposite of *organic* articulation—this was the achievement in which the Gothic externalized its highest and inmost longing for expression.

WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK

The Fortunes of the Gothic Form Will

NOW that we have become acquainted with the general character of the northern, Gothic form will in its clearest expression in the early ornament and in the mature Gothic architecture, we shall follow the fortunes of this form will. It is the great chapter of the development of mediaeval art to which we open, a chapter which has never come completely to its own because of the one-sidedness of the Renaissance viewpoint inherited by the modern historian.

In the main, these fortunes of the Gothic form will are determined by its natural growth and strengthening on the one hand, and on the other by its contact with foreign stylistic phenomena, among which, without excluding vague and scattered Oriental influences, Roman art with the Classical coloring of its form will comes into special consideration. When Roman culture first takes effect in the north in the early Christian centuries, the interesting play of the adjustment of north and south, of Gothic and Classic, begins; the rich content of this furnishes the whole drift of the development of mediaeval art. Roman provincial art, the art of the barbarian invasions, Merovingian art, Carolingian art, Romanesque art, and Gothic art (in the narrower sense of the school concept) are acts in this play. The last act, the setting of which is the European Renaissance, shows the collapse of the Gothic and the fall of the national northern sense of form. We can only briefly sketch the contents of these single acts.

To the political and cultural supremacy of the Roman conquerors corresponds, of course, their artistic supremacy, as well. At first the native artistic sensibility completely gives way before this supremacy as expressed in Roman provincial art [Pl. XIV, B]. It finds it impossible to take hold anywhere and prove itself. It ventures forth only very gradually and seeks

to get its dues in rather inconspicuous places. In time, however, there arises a Teutonic-Roman ornament in which the northern elements almost equal the Roman. The old northern linear forms crop up everywhere in these foreign artistic forms and try to impress their soul upon the strange body. In fact, the northern form will gradually comes to feel so strong that it dares assert its independence in the face of the invading Roman art. It shows this independence, for example, in that it rejects the most characteristic element of Roman decoration and the peculiar bearer of the Roman Classical sense of form, namely, the ornamental plant motive. With few exceptions, this specifically organic product does not enter into the early Teutonic-Roman hybrid art. Then the period of the barbarian invasions naturally adds to the hybrid character of northern art production. The most diverse influences intermingle, everything is in ferment. The greatest paradoxes stand side by side, but the zeal for expansion of the northern sense of form is never to be overlooked in these mixtures. The stanch harshness of these half barbaric, half Roman art products shows that the struggle is no longer secret feud, but open warfare in which each asserts its place; hence, the powerful splendor of this style. Then the Merovingian period, with its Anglo-Saxon, Irish, Scandinavian, and North Italian parallel phenomena, shows that northern artistic feeling has ultimately got the upper hand. It brings to full bloom that linear fantasy [Pl. VIII], interspersed with items of actuality, which we have discussed at length in an earlier chapter because it offers the best basis for the investigation of the whole style phenomenon. But even in the Merovingian period plant motives have already penetrated early northern ornament [Pl. XIV, A]. Under the influence of the Carolingian Renaissance the old indigenous zoömorphic ornament actually begins to recede before the new plant ornament. This is, nevertheless, a movement lacking native soil; the Carolingian Renaissance is an experiment of the court; it finds no anchorage in popular consciousness. This premature experiment launches the northern artistic sense into a

A. PLANT AND ANIMAL ORNAMENT. MEROVINGIAN

B. PORTA NIGRA, TRIER

C. S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE, RAVENNA

transitory state of complete disorientation, which only at the end of the period yields to a slowly growing sense of security. These circumstances enable us to form a judgment of this interesting intermezzo. We can agree with Woermann's criticism: "Except for some creations in the field of architecture, some works of the goldsmith, some pages of manuscripts decorated without figures, Carolingian-Ottonian art has produced nothing for posterity to go on with. It is precisely and preëminently an epigonous art, with a language of form and of color that, in spite of its deep and broadened content, and in spite of its often splendid outer, general effect, is but barbaric stammering in the sounds of a past irretrievably lost and, moreover, racially foreign to the Germanic north. The youthful, natural sounds, that here and there half unconsciously try to break through, long die away unheard. Only at the very end of this period do they commence to be more frequent and more distinct."

We must give closer attention to the following phase of the process of evolution, to the Romanesque style [Pl. XVIII]; for it already represents the Middle Ages with full strength and with consciousness of independent culture when northwestern Europe has seized with strong grip the reins of development. Since we are going to devote a special discussion to the architectural development, it need only be stated here that the Romanesque style is a very radical and happy northern modification of the world of form handed down by the ancient east. In spite of all the dependence of its fundamental structure upon antique tradition, however, it wears a pronounced northern character. The foreign artistic shape of the basilica, which was imposed upon the north by the cultural superiority of Rome and her predominant ecclesiastical position, is already completely saturated by the Gothic form will, which, in the task of permeating this extraneous artistic shape with its spirit and soul, continually gathers strength until, finally, in the intoxication of power of the great Gothic centuries, it resolutely abandons the extraneous artistic shape entirely and creates its own magnificent world of ex-

pression, which opposes to the antique tradition something wholly new and independent. This is the Gothic proper, the Gothic in the narrower school sense, the ultimate emancipation from all that is Classic.

And in this, its highest and purest cultivation, the northern sense of form conquers all Europe. The north is at this time culturally and artistically triumphant in the adjustment of north and south, which is the real content of the whole mediaeval development. But it would seem as if the north has spent itself in this highest exertion. The very form will of the north, arrived at its apogee, has exhausted itself; it is at the end of its creative possibilities. Its mission is fulfilled and the Latins of the south, who have meanwhile recovered both politically and culturally from the northern irruption and have gathered their dispersed forces for a new culture and a new art, have an easy game against the north, which has spent itself. The response which the experiment of the Carolingian Renaissance failed to get is ready now that the northern form energy has slackened. Cultural supremacy determines the victory. For the mediaeval culture, which has not yet known any differentiation of the individual (the individual only ventures to differentiate himself from the community when dualistic anxieties have been overcome and the relation of man to world has reached a state of reconciliation and security) now encounters a new culture which has set free all the wealth of the individual and, no longer curbed by any dogmatic bias, has created values of spiritual progress which must seem an attractive ideal to northern man with his mediaeval limitations. His yearning for salvation, which, exhausted by enormous exertions, has lost its great dynamics, believes now it will find satisfaction so near at hand as this. Northern transcendentalism is diluted into a mere trans-Alpinism, a cultural ultramontanism. That very dualistic distraction which has formerly been drowned in the great mediaeval transcendental art now drives northern man toward the foreign Renaissance ideal. He has been trying to deaden his inner misery,

JUDITH WITH THE HEAD OF HOLOFERNES. PAINTING BY LUCAS CRANACH, THE ELDER
(Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

his discontent of soul, in the sublime pathos of the Gothic, in its unnatural convulsive tension, in its mighty intoxication of feeling, but only the compact community has been able to endure such tension. Now that economic development, world trade, urban life, and other cultural factors are destroying the cohesion of the great communities in the north, as well, a more intimate, more human satisfaction has to be sought. The Gothic, in its innermost nature, has been irrational, superrational, transcendental. Now the earnest rationality of Classical harmony and Classical orderliness presents itself as a seductive ideal to northern man, who has become an individual. Now he, who is no longer capable of the ideal exuberance of transcendental volition, hopes in that lofty, ideal *ratio* to be freed from himself by that Classical harmony, which is to him so remote and almost unattainable, and to be released from his inner misery. An immediate satisfaction, a direct naïve happiness, is denied him. His happiness always lies (and that is the peculiar northern transcendentalism, constant through all the centuries) in a beyond, in something superior to himself, whether this consists in the heights of intoxication or in the attachment to a foreign ideal. He always finds himself only by losing himself, by rising superior to himself. In this riddle lies his greatness and his tragedy.

One can also state the difference in quality between Gothic transcendentalism and later northern ultramontanism (Italianism) by saying that, with the Renaissance, religious ideals have been supplanted by mere educational ideals. At any rate, the odium of being a product of education without immediate natural background attaches to the whole German Renaissance culture. That is valid also for post-Gothic art. It, too, is rather a production of education than the immediate product of genuine, original artistic feeling and sentiment. The morbid northern yearning for education, this disguised and weakened transcendentalism, subjugates the northern instinct for form, and the result is the hybrid picture of the German Renaissance, or, by

its cultural name, German humanism. Art becomes partly inspired by literature, partly clogged by superficial decoration. A conscious artistic taste is creator now instead of the unconscious, vigorous will. Of course, this characterization of the German Renaissance is applicable only to the usual sort of thing, only to the art of the general public, as it is introduced by Cranach, particularly [Pl. XV]. In the case of the great names, Dürer, Grünewald, and Holbein, the circumstances are different. For if one observes more carefully, they are all still adhering closely to the Gothic. Grünewald's Gothic takes the guise of pictorial pathos. Holbein's graphic power of characterization is, as we have already said in another connection, the last great concentration of the northern art of line [Pl. XI, A]. And Dürer? Yes, Albrecht Dürer is no less than the martyr of this collision of two fundamentally incompatible worlds of artistic expression [Pl. XVI]. That gives the great tragic note to the whole course of his development. That he could not give up himself with his northern humanity, that he should, nevertheless, fight his way with full force through his discordant temperament toward that new world whose beginning and end is harmony and beauty, that is the tragedy which makes him so great and so true a representative of the north. For his is the specifically northern tragedy, which repeats itself under ever new form and dress, and as its last martyr, to draw an example from our familiar present, we northerners honor Hans von Marées with his great fragmentary, enigmatic art.

The victorious advance of the Classical sense of form which follows in the wake of the great Italian Renaissance movement leaves the Gothic form will no time to subside peacefully. But the suppressed Gothic form energies, which are rooted in so great a past, are still too active under the surface to vanish so silently from the scene. Contemplative humanism, remote from actuality, is the privilege of satiated beings and is unable to restrain permanently the ferment and full development of popular consciousness. The humanistic tendency is corrected by that great popular movement

Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Painting by Albrecht Dürer
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

which leads to the Reformation. In place of ideals of education, religious ideals return, humanism gives way to the Reformation. The reaction against the humanistic ideal of education, with its Classical, pagan tinge, spreads throughout all Europe and leaves its record in art in the phenomenon of the Baroque. The transcendental character of this style [Pl. XVII] is already evident from the external circumstance that the church —particularly the Society of Jesus—is its propagator and carrier. Its quality of transcendental pathos plainly distinguishes it from the harmonious calm and equilibrium of the Classical style. The transcendental style of the Gothic is succeeded, therefore, after the intermezzo of the Renaissance, by a transcendental style again, the Baroque. And in the northern Baroque one plainly seems to find connections with the Gothic. This is especially true if one thinks of the late Gothic, which has been significantly called the Baroque of the Gothic. The forms of the northern Renaissance do not long retain their moderation. They are very quickly extended into restless, impatient scroll-work. And it seems as if within this foreign world of organic art the old, suppressed Gothic form energies were at work fermenting it and expanding it. The impulse to pathos in the Gothic will seems to be communicated to this world of organic expression. Animated and actuated by the ever more powerful influx of this northern impulse, the art forms of the German Renaissance gradually quite lose that harmonious stamp, which in their case was rather lack of character than, as in the case of the Italian Renaissance, positive expression of will; they lose that harmonious polish, and once more the stream of northern artistic volition, scorning all harmonious proportion, rushes through the world. Again, all is movement, all impatient activity, all pathos. But this pathos can be expressed only by exaggerating and stretching the *organic* values to their utmost; the way back to the higher and more gripping pathos of abstract, nonsensuous values is blocked by the Renaissance. Thus, we see in the Baroque the last effervescence of northern form will, a last attempt to express itself even in

an inappropriate, essentially foreign language. Then the old northern art of line and movement slowly dies away in the playful scroll-work of the Rococo.

Finally, in order to recapitulate the evolution sketched in this chapter, I quote a passage from an academy lecture by Alexander Conze, the Berlin archaeologist: "In their geometric style, with its play of meaningless forms, untold generations of early European peoples have felt their aesthetic need in the field of formative art satisfied, until, one after another, they have been drawn by southern influence into the circle of a richer world of artistic forms that derives from the countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean. But their innate artistic sensibility has not thereby been completely extinguished at once, as is today that of savages when they are much more forcibly subjected to contact with more highly developed culture. In Greece, as an after effect of the mood of the old geometric style, there could grow up the Doric style, in which, as Taine says, '*trois ou quatre formes élémentaires de la géometrie font tous les frais.*' But in the north of Europe, in spite of the introduction of Greco-Roman art, the vitality of the primitive manner is unmistakable. After initial defeat, aboriginal character remoulds the alien forms and presses forward in the Gothic to a glorious outcome of the battle of the two artistic worlds, and even in the Rococo one would suspect still a last dying echo after the repeated triumphs of the Renaissance. In like manner, in Mohammedan art an outbreak of old undercurrents through the Greco-Roman covering runs parallel to the appearance of the Gothic. Such far-reaching observations, however, could be fully presented only by a discussion of the historical points of universal significance in the general history of art" (Sitzungsbericht der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften, 11, II, 1897).

Mexico Cathedral

Plate XVII.

The Romanesque Style

THE whole story of the fortunes of the Gothic form will can be reduced to two main stages, following one another chronologically, to which all the rest is subordinate. The first is the ornamental manifestation of the form will, the second the architectonic. As the ornament is the proper representative of Gothic artistic talent for the early northern development, so for the later development is architecture. The goal of the later development, provided that a uniform form will really lies at the basis of all art production from the early Christian centuries to the late Middle Ages, must be to vary, differentiate, and qualify the cumbersome elementary laws of architecture so that they can express the sense of form of the free ornament. And it is, indeed, the most brilliant phase of the mediaeval artistic development which shows us how this sense of form, which corresponds to the psychological structure of northern man, although at first it has expressed itself only in ornament independent of purpose and material demands gradually masters the heavy, unwieldy material and converts it into a docile, wieldy instrument of expression, in spite of its material resistance.

We are only imperfectly informed as to the pagan temple in the north, and the discussion in full swing at the present time about the pre-Christian northern wooden architecture and about its connection with the Christian temple in the north does not yet allow any certain conclusions on these subjects. But it is safe enough to say that the early northern architecture was already governed by the taste for the perpendicular, by the tendency to create standing, not lying, buildings. From the beginning, northern architecture preferred the first of the two fundamental elements of tectonics, active carrier and passive burden, the mutual relations of which had reached a happy organic equilibrium in Greek architecture. In northern architecture the ex-

pression of action was to predominate, the building was to seem a free growth, not a burden.

The real development of mediaeval architecture began, however, only when the acceptation of Christianity demanded an adjustment with the ancient architectural principle as embodied in Early Christian architecture. This first led the north to stately stone construction, this first put to the decisive test its still dull and erratic sense of architectonic form. And it stood the test. We shall omit the early stages of the adjustment in order not to obscure by tedious prolixity the concise pithiness of the line of development described. Even the Carolingian buildings need only be mentioned as an isolated experiment, somewhat out of the real line of development. The true sense of the development is first expressed in the so-called Romanesque style [Pl. XVIII]. We must analyze it from the standpoint of its psychology of form in order to gain an understanding later of the culmination of the development in the mature Gothic style.

The Romanesque style means the stylistic modification which the imported Early Christian scheme of building experienced from the independent artistic will of the north. Therefore, if we get the single points of this modification, we are observing the Gothic form will in the making, as it were. For all the changes it effected in the foreign artistic shape of the basilica are indications of the later, properly Gothic, development in which it has wholly emancipated itself from this foreign shape.

In architecture the Romanesque style represents that stage of the adjustment of northern and antique artistic sense to which, in the development of ornament, the style of the barbarian invasions approximately corresponds. It wears the same grand, steadfast seriousness, the same heavy, material splendor, which results from the fact that the two art worlds do not interpenetrate, but stand firmly and frankly beside each other. Their respective strengths seem to be in tune, so that, in spite of their abrupt juxtaposition, a certain unity of impression is imparted. Romanesque architecture forms a style because the adjustment is a frank and open one

Abbey Church, Maria Laach

in which every element vigorously maintains its place. Northern artistic will has here succeeded in gaining a footing, as far as that is possible while keeping the transmitted scheme of the basilica, dependent on antique tradition.

We recognized the Gothic form will as the striving for untrammeled action, for an expressive activity of immaterial sort. Now, if we compare a Romanesque minster [Pl. XVIII] with an Early Christian basilica [Pl. XIV, C], even the exterior shows us what this northern expressional will has made out of the basilical scheme. The Early Christian basilica has a homogeneous accent. The uniform movement of the nave toward the sanctuary is quite clearly recorded outside, also. Now, this simple, elementary scheme of the basilica undergoes in the Romanesque style a thoroughgoing division into parts which destroys its homogeneous character and substitutes a rich variety for unattractive simplicity. Instead of the *one* accent there is a multiplicity of accents, which have a certain rhythmic constraint. It is like comparing a positive, logically constructed Latin sentence to a verse from the Hildebrandslied with its restless, gnarled, singularly expressive rhythm and its almost hypertrophous wealth of accents. This ponderous, condensed sentence structure, which almost bursts from the amount of activity compressed in it, points the way for our understanding of the ponderousness and condensation of the Romanesque style of architecture. Here, movement becomes action. And the propensity of Romanesque architecture for division into parts is nothing but the Gothic need of action, which wishes to reshape and differentiate in accordance with its spirit the calm, outwardly quite objective, inexpressive form of the Early Christian basilica. People generally speak of the need of Romanesque architecture for pictorial appearance and thereby confuse cause and effect. For this pictorial appearance is only the secondary effect of that primary manifestation of action which shows in the division into parts. This need of action, in dividing the expressionless unity of appearance into parts and in calling forth individual forces from the

dead mass, resolves the calm into activity and replaces simplicity with variety. And the natural result of such restless activity and variation is the pictorial effect. This pictorial character is perpetuated in northern architecture only as long as the northern form energies have to continue to develop on the basis of the old mass construction, in which the pictorial effect arises merely from the contrast between the dead mass and its division into parts which is made by the northern form energy. As soon as this basis disappears and the division into parts, with its expression of action, no longer stands out against the background of dead mass—that is, in the Gothic proper—the relief character of the Romanesque style vanishes; there vanishes, in other words, its pictorial effect. The pure Gothic is certainly full of action, but without true pictorial effect. This clearly proves the pictorial effect of the Romanesque style is not an end in itself, but only the consequence of a need for action which is still adjusting itself to the Roman style of mass and wall architecture. The extraordinary pictorial effect of the style of the barbarian invasions rests on analogous premises.

What has been said applies to the rich division into parts of the ground-plan and of the exterior as well. The outer appearance is given its character by a system of blind arcades and pilaster strips so that the dead walls break up in life and movement. This life goes on separated still from the real structure of the building and is only externally imposed upon it, is only a decorative accessory. One has the impression that this accumulation of expression of organic life, which appears in the arcades that enliven the wall, is a sort of makeshift for the strong northern longing for expression that has not yet found its real opportunity, namely, superorganic structural language. For in matters of construction the Romanesque style is, of course, subservient still to the antique scheme. Thus, the northern form will is able to express itself only alongside the fundamental structure of the building, not by means of the structure, as the Gothic does. The outlay of externally and indirectly employed power,

which, in consonance with the fundamental principle of the building, still uses organic means of expression, has to make good the lack of internally and directly employed power. In this respect the tendency of the Romanesque style is analogous to the Baroque degeneration [Pl. XVII]. For we feel every phenomenon of style that shows organic life under altogether too severe a stress to be Baroque. And this overstress always comes when the right valves are clogged and the proper release cannot take place, when the resources of organic expression must regulate a vitality which is really too powerful for them and which can be kept in control only by superorganic powers. And the Romanesque style is just as remote as the Baroque from superorganic, abstract means of expression—those of the Gothic proper. Only, in the one case the road is still closed because of the dependence upon antique tradition, in the other case the road is blocked again by the revival and the absolute predominance of this same antique tradition. Like the Baroque, the Romanesque style is a Gothic attempted with unsuitable, that is, with only organic means. And we continually become more conscious that the Renaissance is only a kind of foreign shape in this tremendous, otherwise uninterrupted development from the earliest northern beginnings clear to the Baroque, in fact, to the Rococo.

From the exterior of the basilica the extended nave makes the whole building seem a lying one [Pl. XIV, C]. Given the tendency of northern artistic volition to create standing, freely rising buildings, with the expression of unrestrained action, the long, lying basilical form would, obviously, be objectionable. An upward expansion must be wrested from it at all costs. This effort results in the Romanesque system of many towers, which replaces the horizontal accentuation of the basilica with an already quite marked vertical accentuation. Even in this case, it is still an attempt with unsuitable means. The towers are stuck on more or less arbitrarily; their vertical force does not grow directly out of the inner structure of the building; hence, lacking this structural elasticity, they cannot overcome the impression

of material weight. Here, too, the saving word is not yet spoken; consequently, what is still denied direct realization is attempted by a diversity, by an accumulation of effects. The change could proceed only from the inside. Only out of the innermost core of the building could the new be formed. As soon as this has happened, as soon as this right cue has been given, the exterior shape of the building takes care of itself. The building must first find its own soul in order to emancipate itself from the body and to give free vent to the Gothic instinct for height, to this predilection for an infinite, immaterial activity.

This emancipation from the body, that is, from the whole sensuous architectural conception of antique tradition, commences in the Romanesque with the first attempts at vaulting. With the first attempts at vaulting the northern architect strikes at the heart of the antique architectural form previously unprofaned by him.

We had better treat this important proceeding in a special chapter.

Inceptive Emancipation from the Principle of Classical Architecture

ANCIENT architecture, under Oriental inspiration, had already deeply occupied itself with the problem of vaulting in the Hellenistic period and further in the Roman period. Roman provincial art left imposing illustrations of its solution on northern soil as well [Pl. XIV, B]. But with this ancient Classical tradition of vaulting the mediaeval art of vaulting that is now setting in has only some degree of connection technically, none artistically. It would certainly be easier to find artistic relations with the Oriental tradition of vaulting, which, just like the later northern tradition, aimed at a pictorial rendition of space. But that would lead us too far afield. In order to understand the fundamental difference between the Classical and the Gothic, or northern, idea of vaulting, we must see what artistic ends were subserved by Classical vaulting. The genesis of the Classical art of vaulting is closely connected with the construction of interior space which began in Hellenistic times and reached its culmination in Roman times. We observed that in the Greek epoch, space, as such, played no artistic rôle; Greek architecture, we saw, was pure tectonics, without intention of creating space. Now, in Hellenistic times Greek sensibility has lost its sculptural character, which had tended wholly toward the substantial and tangible; by contact with the Orient it has become impregnated with non-sensuous, spiritual qualities and, consequently, from the tectonics there evolves an art of space creation. We have already written of these relationships elsewhere. Even in this intention of creating space, however, the true antique remains Classical, that is, it approaches even space with organic constructive intent and tries to treat this, it would seem, as something organic, or living, in fact, as something corporeal. In other words, clarity of form, the ideal of Greek tectonics, is superseded by clarity of space, the ideal of Roman architecture; the organic production of form is super-

seded by the organic production of space; the sculpture of form is superseded by the sculpture of space (if this audacious expression, which, however, exactly fits the circumstances, can be allowed). It is intended that the limits of the space shall be such as the space would have set for itself, as it were, in order to individualize itself from infinite space. It is intended that the impression shall arise of natural spatial limits within which the space can lead an independent life within organic bounds. Thus, it is intended that the unsensuous, that is, space, be sensualized, that the immaterial be materialized, that the intangible be objectified. These are the artistic aims promoted by Classical spatial art, which has the Pantheon as its most brilliant achievement [Pl. XIX]. Here, the vaulting is only a means to the realization of sensuous sculpture of space, the ideal of which is to create, even by means of spatial relationships, the impression of a harmonious life, calm and self-balanced. In this harmonious picture of space the battle of burdening and carrying forces has now completely ceased. The mitigation of the structurally unavoidable clash of burden and power, which Greek tectonics could effect only indirectly, that is, by means of a whole system of symbolic, intermediate members, Roman sensuous sculpture of space effects directly by means of the art of vaulting: in its gentle, organic roundness the vaulting assimilates all the carrying forces and leads them without any violence to a calm, obvious balance and conclusion. It would be hard to decide whether such an architectonic picture as the Pantheon rises up from the earth or bears down upon it; the case is, rather, that these impressions of carrying and burdening are mutually annulled by the absolutely organic production of space; the burdening and carrying forces are in a state of exact equilibrium.

We see, therefore, that in Roman art the vaulting is—apart from its purely practical significance in buildings of utility—the result of a certain sensuous sculpture of space and, hence, plainly displays Classical character.

PANTHEON, ROME

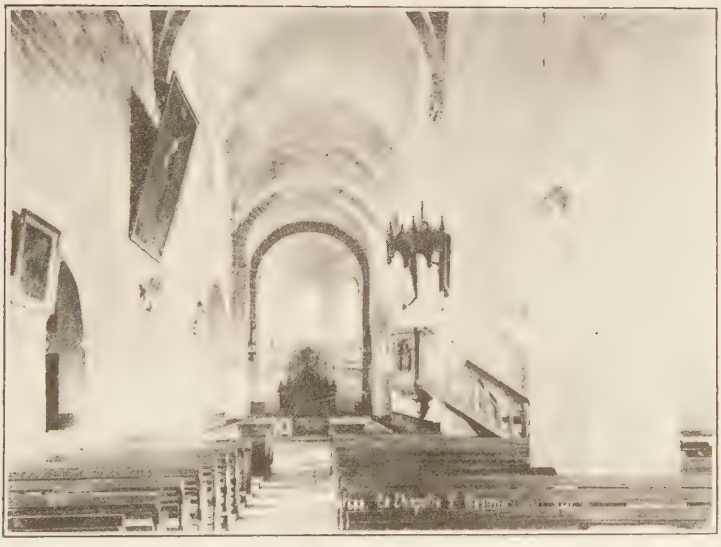
Our whole account of the non-sensuous volition of Gothic art guides us at once to an understanding of the quite different artistic requirements which the médiaeval art of vaulting has to meet. This is not the result of any kind of organic, sensuous, sculptural tendencies; rather, it serves a striving for super-sensuous expression unacquainted with the concept of harmony. It is not concerned with the balance of carrying and burdening elements, active and passive elements, vertical and horizontal elements; but the action, the verticality, has to carry alone the artistic expression. To overcome the burden by a freely rising, autonomous action, to overcome the material by an immaterial kinetic expression—such is the purpose that hovers before the mediaeval art of vaulting, the goal it attains in the mature Gothic. In the mature Gothic one can scarcely speak of a ceiling as burden [Pl. I]. For the perception and impression, the upper limit of the space is only the result of the union of the unburdened vertical forces that press on from all sides and let the movement echo away into infinity, as it were. Only by keeping this goal in mind can we appreciate in their entire, momentous significance the first attempts at vaulting in northern architecture. Only then, behind the technical advances, do we see struggling for expression the form will, which makes them artistic advances, as well.

In our discussion we omit entirely the question of the borrowing of architectural forms. This question first becomes acute when the foreign forms are welcome to the peculiar form will, and then it is no longer a matter of borrowing, but of independent reproduction. Then the acquaintance with the foreign serves at most as a cue to prompt the still uncertain and groping form will to utterance. It only provokes and expedites, therefore, what is already fore-ordained and ripe for expression in the inner line of development. So these external matters cannot alter the inner course of development, and a discussion devoted only to this inner, almost underground development can appro-

priately quite disregard these irrelevant external matters.

The development made a beginning with the readiest and technically simplest application of the principle of vaulting, the barrel vault [Pl. XX, A]. With it the first assault was attempted against the roof and its heaviness. Yet this undifferentiated, expressionless, structurally unaccented kind of vaulting, with its organically compact form, did not offer the longing for abstract expression of northern artistic volition any opportunity to take hold and assert itself. This regular, round form, in which the active and passive forces were undiscriminated and which was consequently unaccented structurally, was a dead mass for the nonsensuous northern artistic feeling. The attempt had to be made to get pronounced accents out of the uniform continuity of the vault; the attempt had to be made to give the mass of the vault an expression of structural action corresponding to the Gothic need of expression. Cross-vaulting [Pl. XX, B] more nearly met these artistic requirements and so in the Romanesque attained a predominance that it had never had before. For the whole treatment—especially the decorative treatment—of the cross-vault in Roman times shows that it was then cultivated not for the sake of its structural and mimic expressiveness, but only for its great technical advantages. It is significant also that the south of France, with its unbroken ancient tradition, refused cross-vaulting any firm footing, although in this region the best guidance to technical perfection in vaulting was offered by the imposing Roman vaulted buildings. Southern France did not advance to cross-vaulting, it retained the barrel vault and gave it a monumental shape extremely refined technically. It did not make the advance to cross-vaulting, because this contradicted its sense of form, which was still tinged by the antique. But the further we go into central and northern France and the more the Teutonic element counts in the population, the more we see the cross-vault dominate, and the most, finally, in Norman architecture. On the other hand, how very

A. NOTRE-DAME-DU-PORT, CLERMONT-FERRAND



B. LA CHAPELLE ST. MESMIN

distasteful the cross-vault was to the Classical form will is best shown by that aversion of the Renaissance to it which Burckhardt expressly emphasized. To be sure, cross-vaulting was still continually used, but concealed. The mimically patent expression of its structure was taken away either, as in Roman times, by coffering, or by decorating with other details.

But the cross-vault went far toward satisfying the northern form will. For, in contrast to the barrel vault, which for northern sensibility was dead, uniform mass, there already exists in its case a clear, well-arranged division into parts. The vaulting already reveals itself as action here. A unitary accent of height is plainly expressed at the meeting of the four sectroids, and this accentuation of the crown is enough to give the whole vault, in spite of its real lowness, the illusion of rising up in the middle. From barrel vaulting, which is entirely undifferentiated in the direction of the active or the passive, cross-vaulting is distinguished, therefore, by its pronounced active character. In particular, the groins, along which the sectroids come together, are decisive for this impression; they give the vault a linear mimicry that altogether corresponded to the northern artistic will. It is evident that the future Gothic development went to work on this groining. The first step was to emphasize this linear mimicry by outlining the groin arches with ribs [Pl. XXI, B], which originally had no inherent connection with the vaulting and, besides their purpose of support, also served to reinforce the linear expression. The Romans, too, had already used this rib strengthening, but it is characteristic that in their case "the strengthening was of more consequence during the execution than for the finished building" (Dehio and Bezold). In other words, with the Romans the rib strengthening played only a practical rôle, not an artistic one; it was but means to an end. In Romanesque art, however, it was both end in itself and vehicle of artistic expression. On the other hand, German architecture shows by many examples—the practice was common in Westphalia, especially—that

the ribs were attached to the finished vaulting and are in this way plainly to be recognized as mere decorative members, that is, as mere mimic bearers of expression.

Now the second great decisive step in this groin development consists in allowing the inner construction of the vault to be covered with this linear mimicry. It is the great Gothic transformation of the vaulting system that makes the ribs the real bearers of the vaulting construction and puts the sectroids into the frame only as filling. The ribs become the essential scaffold of the whole construction: the artistic significance of the ribs becomes one with their structural significance. And we shall see how this process, decisive for the whole Gothic problem, continually repeats itself, how always at first the Gothic longing for expression is able to manifest itself only superficially and utters itself only decoratively, beyond the construction, as it were, until, finally, it discovers that language in which alone it can express itself in a convincing manner, namely the abstract, non-sensuous language of construction. Then all impediments to utterance disappear and the unsullied, unreserved performance of the faculty of expression is guaranteed.

This idea of letting the structural element be an end in itself, of making it the bearer of the artistic expression, was hovering more or less consciously before the northern architect also when he introduced the pillar as supporting member and let it gradually crowd out the column. This crowding out did not take place quickly; the suggestive power of antique tradition was too strong for the column, this true representative of antique architecture, to have died out at once. At first the pillar only timidly dared to assert itself beside the column, until it finally became evident that the future of the development belonged to it. And the basilica with pillars soon played a dominating rôle, particularly in regions that lay far from the scene of Roman influence and were consequently less exposed to antique suggestion.

It may readily be seen why the northern artistic sense found the column distasteful and preferred the

pillar. The structural function of support is organically perceptible in the column, but for this organic perceptibility northern artistic sense lacked that cultivated sensuousness which the antique had. The pillar, on the contrary, is entirely objective and exercises the function of carrying without any by-product of expression. But precisely this objective, structural character of the pillar offered the northerner's desire for abstract expression a chance of getting a foothold, as the column, which was tied to a world of organic expression, did not.

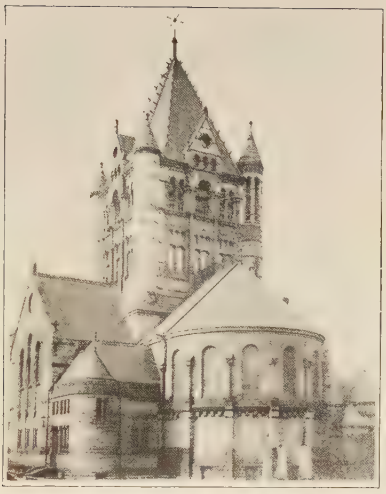
The fact that the rectangular pillar made its appearance already in early Romanesque times proves that it was adopted at first only because its shape met the northern longing for expression. It is not true that, as is usually said, it put in its appearance when vaulting began to be intended. But doubtless from the tendency toward vaulting the independent preference for it received a dependent technical justification; that is, in connection with the purposes of vaulting its mere artistic significance became also a structural one. For since the pressure of the vault in cross-vaulting is not evenly distributed but is concentrated on the four outer corners, this pressure concentrated on the four angles below needs stronger support than the weak columns could offer. Under these circumstances the pillar presented itself as the proper substitute for the column.

Through this structural connection of vault and pillar, however, the pillar gradually begins to lose its objective character. Its latent expressiveness seems to be aroused by its close connection with the girths and ribs of the vaulting. It is no longer an objective supporting member, as it was in the unvaulted basilica. After it has come in touch with the vaulting by means of engaged columns which receive the ribs of the vault, its vital energy seems awakened and it no longer seems to carry, but to ascend. It takes part as an active member in the general vertical movement in process of development, and the structural connection of the pillar and vault systems begins to express itself in a

clear, convincing mimicry [Pl. XXI, B].

This simple falling back upon the structural, fundamental elements of the building and this renunciation of all antique artifices for translating into the organic, give the interior construction of the Romanesque minster its stamp, which is seen in large scale and in small. As an example in point, the form of the Romanesque capital may be recalled. The comparison of a Romanesque cubiform capital [Pl. XI, C] in its clear tectonic form with an antique capital [Pl. XII] shows best, perhaps, the tendency of the Romanesque architect to go back to clear, structural objectivity. In all this appears a more negative process, necessary to clear the way for future development. The structure in its objectivity must first be cleansed of all the sensuous accessories with which Classical artistic will has contaminated it, and the structural forces must first be rallied, before the great artistic expression of the Middle Ages can be attained by these forces alone.

Thus, Romanesque architecture already brings out the structure, indeed, but does not yet intensify it; the great pathos of the Gothic has not yet set in. The Romanesque style is a Gothic minus enthusiasm, a Gothic still involved in material weight, a Gothic without final transcendental deliverance. It has fallen back upon logic, but does not yet thereby pursue a superlogical purpose. This seriousness which is in a large measure heaviness, this objectivity which is in a certain measure frugality, this show of agglomerate, retarding weight which has a ceremonial, but not transporting, effect, predestine the Romanesque style to become the true Protestant German style, and it is, therefore, no accident that modern Protestant church architecture is fond of taking up the Romanesque style again [Pl. XXI, A]. The half-way and hybrid character that clings to Protestantism, the vacillation between rational, scholastic elements and metaphysical elements, between rigorous subjection to the word and individual freedom—all this is reflected in the Romanesque style, too. It, too, is full of inner contradictions. It is half Gothic scaffolding already, half antique



A. TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON

B. MODENA CATHEDRAL

masses still. Along with the most exacting regularity of ground-plan, it shows elsewhere a capriciousness, which leads Dehio to the conclusion that symmetry in its strictest form is thoroughly disagreeable to the Romanesque, which, consequently, always breaks it more or less abruptly. In no style are strict rule and caprice so closely connected as in the Romanesque, in no religion are they so close together as in Protestantism.

The German national character of the Romanesque style distinguishes it clearly from the international, universal Gothic. The Romanesque is the style of predominantly Germanic lands, without much admixture; it is most firmly anchored in Normandy, Burgundy, Lombardy, and, finally, Germany proper. Its efflorescence is closely connected with the great days of German imperial rule. With the fall of this imperial power its period of resplendence also ends.

Complete Emancipation in the Pure Gothic

WE have seen how the northern Gothic form energies already became independent in the Romanesque style, how they steadfastly asserted their place beside the antique tradition. But we have seen also how they remained standing beside it, how they lacked the strength for the last step, for the full emancipation from antique tradition. This great and decisive act required an enthusiasm, an *élan* of the volition, such as the peoples of predominantly Germanic character did not, in their heaviness, foster. Their dull, chaotic bent remained traditional, remained materially bound. They lacked the great, decisive stimulus to free themselves from this subjection; hence, the Romanesque style presents only the picture of suppressed, bound, restrained power.

The start toward liberating this power had to come from without. This function fell to the lot of Latin western Europe. It gave the irresolute northern artistic volition the great initiative that led it to full liberation. The Teutonic north, in its heaviness, has always been incompetent to formulate independently what it has vaguely felt and wanted. It is always western Europe, dominated by Latin elements, that overthrows the law of northern sluggishness and in a great effervesence of its energies pronounces the word the Teutonic north has had on the tip of its tongue.

In the heart of France, where Germanic and Latin elements interpenetrate most intimately, there the liberating deed was enacted, there the cue with which the Gothic proper commences was given. Latin enthusiasm, which can reach the highest pitch without losing its clarity, discovered the clear formulation for the unclear northern volition. In other words, it created the Gothic system.

Salisbury Cathedral

In spite of this, France cannot be called the real mother country of the Gothic: the Gothic did not originate in France, only the Gothic system. For the Latin elements in the population, which endowed France with this power of initiative and this power of clear formulation, were what, on the other hand, also kept alive the connection with the antique tradition and its organically colored artistic will. After the first enthusiasm had died out, after the Latin elements had by a great exertion, by a mighty achievement decisive for the whole Gothic, responded to the provocation which the Germanic north gave for the clear formulation of the Gothic train of ideas, their mission was, so to speak, fulfilled, and there set in a state of self-consciousness, during which Classical artistic feeling, which had been temporarily totally eclipsed by the great mediaeval task, loudly announced itself once more. Precisely in this land of happy miscegenation there was no permanent home for Gothic one-sidedness. The Latin joy in decorative finish, in sensuous clarity, and in organic harmony kept down too much the Germanic need of exaggeration and excess. Thus, it happens that an unmistakable air of organically clarified Renaissance feeling hovers over even the most beautiful and most mature Gothic buildings in France [Pl. XXV]. Full verticality is never reached, horizontal accents always keep the balance. Thus, one can say, of course, that France has created the most beautiful, most living Gothic buildings, but not the purest. The land of the unadulterated Gothic is the Germanic north. To that extent is justified the assertion we made at the beginning of our study that the true architectonic fulfilment of the northern form will exists in German Gothic. To be sure, English architecture, too, has undiluted Gothic coloring [Pl. XXII]; to be sure, England, which is too firmly constituted and self-sufficient to have had its own artistic will so disorientated by the Renaissance as Germany's, cultivates the Gothic even to this day as its national style. Yet this English Gothic is without the spontaneous *élan* of the German Gothic, without its strong pathos that breaks against obstacles

and becomes intensified. English Gothic is more reserved, one might almost say more phlegmatic; hence, it is apt to be in danger of appearing cold and sterile. Above all, it is more superficial, more amateurish than the German Gothic. What seems in the latter like inner necessity, seems in English Gothic like more or less capricious decoration.

In spite of the indisputable fact that the Gothic was most firmly anchored among Germanically tinged populations and lasted longest there, one may well agree with Dehio when he says that the Gothic knew no exact national bounds but was a supernational and a temporal phenomenon which is exactly characteristic of the late Middle Ages when the national differences melted away under the glow of a consciousness of religious and ecclesiastical unity comprising all Europe.

Interior Construction of the Cathedral

"IS there not some analogy to the battle fought by the church against natural man, when the Gothic forces the stone into a form in which it has apparently forgotten its weight, its brittleness, its natural tendency to lie down and has apparently assumed a higher, living nature? Is there not a very deliberate contradiction of common experience, a yearning for miraculous effects, when the architect makes it the goal of his sagacity to render invisible all that gives solidity to the interior construction? Unquestionably, this whole phase of the Gothic, which determines the aesthetic impression, has nothing to do with that striving for structural verity which seems to dominate the Gothic. He who is unable to divine the copious elements of mysticism commingled with the calculation of its masters, will also be unable to understand what they have to say as artists, that is, as true sons and legitimate spokesmen of their age."

We place these sentences of Dehio's at the beginning of the chapter on the Gothic proper, because they so aptly hit the true character of all the technical progress of the Gothic, because they show us in advance how the whole outlay of logical acuteness which the Gothic builders muster up serves, in the last analysis, only superlogical purposes.

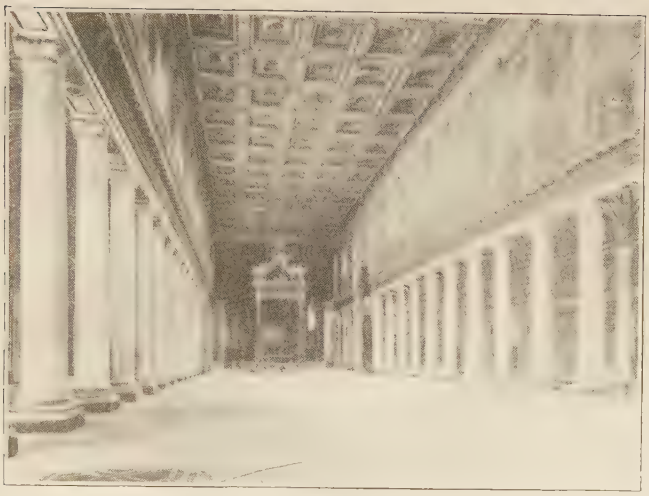
There is scarcely anything new to add to the logical and psychological interpretation of the Gothic system, as it has been attempted by many others along with Dehio. So much that is ingenious and profound has already been said on this theme that the danger of unconscious plagiarism is scarcely avoidable. Further, we are actually less concerned in our study with this acme of the Gothic than with that latent Gothic which is already displayed in the whole series of pre-Gothic styles and the connection of which with the

Gothic in the narrower sense we wished primarily to show. We may, then, be brief.

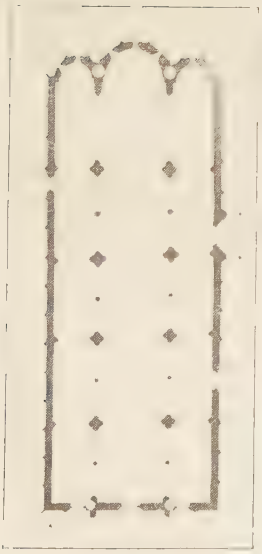
As we have seen, the Romanesque [Pls. XVIII, XX, and XXI] was still a style of masses; that is, the natural weight of the stone, its materiality was still the basis of the construction as well as of the aesthetic impression. Since this style had been formed under the suggestion handed down by that antique architectural feeling which had won from the material a life of organic expression, a certain process of disorganization of the material was necessary first of all to accommodate it to the northern form will. What remained in the Romanesque style after this disorganization was the material as such, the material which was non-sensualized but not yet spiritualized. External beginnings of the spiritualization, that is, of the division of the material into parts, of the release from it of active vital forces, were initiated already in the Romanesque style, but remained, as has been said, external; they were not yet connected with the internal construction. We ascertained the first step toward this internal spiritualization in the rib construction of cross-vaulting. It was the first step into the Gothic proper when these ribs relinquished their character as mere mimic enchancement of expression in order to take over the static control of the vault and consequently to become agents of expression and of function at the same time.

The development beginning here was first brought, however, to a more important and more sweeping result by the introduction of the pointed arch.

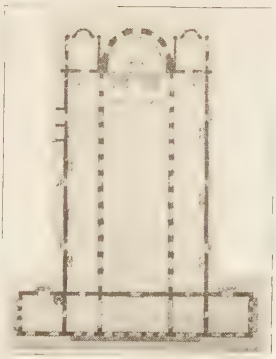
It is interesting that a form which but outwardly taken, with its strongly accented expression of homogeneous upward action, is a sort of brief linear diagram of the mediaeval aspiration for transcendence and, by the same tokens, of the Gothic longing for expression, that a form which for these reasons repeatedly, doubtless only on decorative, external grounds, found reception in the system of architecture should very quickly manifest a structural use which at a stroke cleared the way for the still structurally impeded Gothic form will.



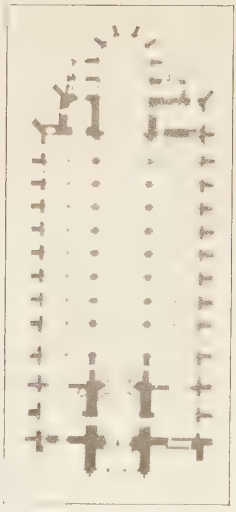
A. S. MARIA MAGGIORE, ROME



B. MODENA CATHEDRAL



C. S. APOLLINARE IN CLASSE



D. ULM CATHEDRAL

Only because the decorative significance of the pointed arch so coincides with its structural significance, did it attain to the standing of the standard criterion of the Gothic style. Wherefore, the incomparably more important intrinsic significance was, it is true, usually overlooked because of the more obtrusive extrinsic significance. The structural advantages, also, of the pointed arch were, of course, known long before. The pointed arch is as old as the art of vaulting itself. To that extent, therefore, one cannot speak of an invention on the part of the Gothic. But certainly the Gothic alone has made it and its structural significance the basis of a whole system maintained with the utmost consistency throughout.

As long as the round arch was held to, it was technically difficult to vault any but square compartments. For equal heights at the crown resulted only from equal spans of pillar intervals. Thus, that limitation of the ground-plan to squares became necessary which surely gave the Romanesque building a very serious and ceremonial appearance, but, on the other hand, hindered the vertical expanse from running unbroken through side aisles and main aisle as the northern architectural will desired. For two small square bays of the side aisle must always be arranged beside one of the main aisle [Pl. XXI, B anl Pl. XXIII, B]. An intimate connection of the vaulting of the side aisle with that of the main aisle was, therefore, unattainable. The rhythm of the main aisle was different from that of the side aisles. Where the main aisle took a long step, the side aisles took two short ones. Accordingly, they only ran along beside each other, not together. Their only common characteristic lay in the forward movement, not in the upward movement. Now since this upward expansion was the real goal of the northern architectural will, it is evident how much it suffered from that limitation to squares, which held back precisely the homogeneous upward expansion of the building.

The Early Christian basilica had the altar as its object [Pl. XIV, C and Pl. XXIII, A and C]. In it the

whole attention was directed to this terminus of the movement, the altar, by energetic, compulsory force of line. The Gothic cathedral, too, knows a compulsory force of line. But the direction is different. It is the unreal line into vanishing height toward which all powers and activity are directed. The basilica had a definite goal. The Gothic cathedral has an indefinite one. Its movement dies away in infinity. Now since in both architectural tendencies the specifications of the cult in general, and therefore the practical spatial needs as well, remain the same, the Gothic upward expansion can be evolved only beside, only in spite of, this longitudinal extension which the cult demands. The longitudinal extension of the building is, therefore, kept by the oblong ground-plan of the whole. Now while the rigid Romanesque system, with its rhythmically inexpressive squares, which were indecisive in their indication of direction, could not yet counteract this longitudinal extension of the whole with any equivalent vertical expansion, the Gothic system, by means of the pointed arch and its structural use, is able to make this great oblong of the whole ground-plan (against which the Romanesque square bay, despite all vaulting, was helpless) vanish into a system of compartments likewise oblong but ordinarily not lying parallel to the oblong of the total ground-plan, but perpendicular to it [Pl. XXIII, D and Pl. XXIV]. The effect of these compartments is to paralyze the exclusively longitudinal extension of the building and to introduce an equivalent latitudinal extension, which in connection with the results already attained in vaulting lead to a homogeneous upward expansion. The oblong shape of the total ground-plan is now actually advantageous to this vertical expansion. For it characterizes the whole building with an aspiration for height, which acquires redoubled dynamics because of the relatively narrow lateral limits.

This possibilty of a vertical expanse which runs unbroken across the whole building, including main aisle and side aisles as well—of the so-called Gothic *travée*—results first, as has been said, from the pointed arch and its structural consequences. For the adaptable pointed

Ulm Cathedral

arch has first made it possible to get equal crown heights even with unequal pillar intervals, that is, over oblong compartments. The clumsy ratio 1 : 2 of the bays of the vaulting of the main aisle to those of the side aisles disappears; main and side aisles get the same number of intimately, mutually related vaults; they do not run along beside each other any more toward a fixed goal in the longitudinal dimension, but they rise together in the vertical dimension.

The primary accent of the whole building falls, therefore, on the main aisle and its heavenward leaping movement; everything else is subordinate, everything else dependent. The side aisles, which still functioned in the Romanesque style as independent, coördinate units of space, now get their aesthetic meaning only from the movement struck in the main aisle, which they subserve merely as arses, so to speak. If this arsis is strengthened by the introduction of two additional side aisles [Pl. XXIV], that only corresponds to the truly Gothic need of piling up single effects to increase the total impression. The richer treatment of the prelude deprives the theme of the whole building—the movement of the main aisle [Pl. I]—of none of its force; on the contrary, its great, strong lines are only the more powerful and forceful after the syncopation-like protraction that the side aisles give.

Through the introduction of the pointed arch into the construction of vaulting that process of dematerialization of the body of the building which was already begun in the Romanesque is completed. The Romanesque style only achieved an outward separation of the statically active and the space-enclosing elements; now the Gothic entirely rejects the merely space-enclosing members and constructs the whole building of statically active members alone. Already in the Romanesque period this tendency displayed itself in the strengthening of the ribs of the vault, in the separation of the static control of the rib-work from the functionless filling of the sectroids. The pressure was concentrated upon the four corner pillars on which the vaulting was built and the wall between the pillars was thereby disburdened.

It was the first step in the direction of the complete dissolution of the wall. This had already become in large measure functionless filling like the sectroids. But the strong lateral thrust that the round arches still exercised on the pillars continued to impose upon the latter, for the time being, a massiveness which allowed the Romanesque no ultimate escape from the wall and which, therefore, strikes the Gothic form will as something to be overcome. The introduction of the pointed arch in vaulting construction first gives the Gothic architect the chance to carry out his aspiration for a building with taut sinews and pliant members, and without any superfluous flesh or any superfluous mass. For the much slighter lateral thrust of ogival vaulting permits a higher and more slender treatment of the supporting pillars, and thus first makes possible that thorough breaking up of the static construction, and that expression, consonant with Gothic demands, of delicate, flexible, and unencumbered action. It is as if, now—with the introduction of the pointed arch—a great self-consciousness went through the building. The cue seems to be given that lets its pent-up need of activity, its predisposition to express pathos, take the stage. The whole building strains itself in the joyous consciousness of being freed at last from all material weight, from all terrestrial limitations. The pillars grow high, slender, and supple; the vaulting loses itself in dizzy heights. And yet everything is subservient to this vaulting carried far aloft. For its sake only the building seems to exist. The vaulting already begins at the foundation of the building, as it were. All the great and small vaulting-shafts, which spring up from the floor and like living forces invest the pillars, appear both structurally and aesthetically as mere preparation for the vault. With lithe strength they fly up from the floor to fade away gradually in an easy movement. The movement pressing on from both sides is unified in the crown of the vault by a keystone, which, in spite of the actual weight demanded by its structural function as abutment, makes no aesthetic impression of weight and appears, rather, a natural termination, light as a flower.

In the description of this Gothic interior construction our terminology has unintentionally altered. It has assumed a wholly different and more sensuous tone. We are now talking of lithe, living forces, of taut sinews, of flower-like terminations. Is the abstract, the superorganic, the mechanical quality of Gothic activity, in the sense in which we have identified it as the basis of northern form will, not compromised by such epithets taken over from the conception of the organic? We must enter into this question, because the answer shows that the northern artistic volition aims only at *strongly expressive* activity and that it resorts to the abovementioned abstract, mechanical activity because the latter is far superior in strength of expression to organic activity, which is always tied down to organic harmony and caters, consequently, rather to the beauty than to the power of expression. (In a similar way a mechanically regulated marionette is more strongly expressive than a living actor.) The answer further shows, on the other hand, that, where the Gothic artistic will is withheld by outer circumstances from the abstract means of expression, it raises the organic means of expression to such a degree that they approximate the forcefulness of mechanical expression.

The Gothic architect is placed in this position when he comes to the interior construction of his cathedrals. The Gothic master is not purely a master of tectonics, like the Greek. He is, rather, a builder of interior space who continues, and gives the final touch to, that great process of spiritualizing the sensibilities which began in Hellenistic times. Space is no longer a mere concomitant of a purely tectonic process, but it is the primary thing, it is the immediate point of departure of the artistic conception of building. For the Gothic architect it is only a question of getting from the space an expressional life corresponding to the ideal aims of his artistic creation.

Now space, in and of itself, is something spiritual and incomprehensible. In this, its essence, it therefore eludes every formative power which is creative of expression. For a thing we cannot comprehend we can-

not express either. Space we can comprehend only if we take away its abstract character, if we, by a substitution, present it to ourselves as something corporeal—in short, if we transform the experience of space into an experience of the senses and the abstract space into real, atmospheric space. Abstract space has no life, and no creative power can get any expression from it; but atmospheric space has an intrinsic life that directly affects our senses and thereby offers our formative power a hold.

In this matter of building space the Gothic bent for spiritualization, therefore, finds itself placed in a sphere of organic and sensuous expression. Its proper sphere, the non-sensuous, is closed to it; accordingly, it has only the alternative of metamorphosing the sensuous into the *super*sensuous. A supersensuous effect must be got from the sensuous experience of space; that is to say, the means of sensuous expression must be intensified so as to produce a supersensuous impression. Here, again, the inner connection of Gothic and Baroque makes its appearance. For it is just this same Gothic mediaeval form will that spends its fury in the sensuous pathos of the Baroque after its proper means of expression, the abstract and the superorganic, have been taken away by the Renaissance. Thus, the Baroque is characterized by the sensuous become supersensuous, the same as is the spatial effect of the Gothic.

This specific characteristic of Gothic space creation and space feeling becomes particularly clear if one recalls the healthy, *lucid,* sculptural quality of space in Roman architecture, as expressed in the Pantheon, for instance [Pl. XIX]. One finds no pathos here. The lucidity of the spatial picture checks all supersensuous, mystic feeling. The Roman form will, with its Classical stamp, only sought to give the space an organically independent and harmonically completed and satisfied life.

When one enters the Pantheon, he feels he is freed from his individual isolation. The mute, ceremonial music of space moves him to a comforting, refreshing, sensuous self-communion; he joins in the swing of the

unspeakably pleasant rhythm of the life of space; he feels sensuously clarified. And what but this sublime happiness of ideal sensuous clarification does Classical man want in his whole art!

But when one enters a Gothic cathedral [Pl. I], he experiences something different from a sensuous *clarification*. He experiences an *intoxication* of the senses, not that direct, gross intoxication of the senses that the Baroque produces, but a mystic one, not of this world.

Gothic space is unbridled activity. Its effect is not ceremonial and calm, but overpowering. It does not receive the visitor with gentle mien, but carries him away by force, operates as a mystic compulsion, unresisting submission to which seems bliss to the overwrought soul.

This deafening by the *fortissimo* of the music of space just exactly suits Gothic religion and its mania for redemption. We are here remote from any Classical world. To be put in a religious and ceremonial mood Classical man only asked for *clarity* of space. His religious and artistic contentment were closely dependent on harmony and balance. Even as a builder of space he remained a sculptor. On the contrary, only the pathos of space can put Gothic man in a religious mood. Only this quality of pathos raises him above his earthly limitations and his inner misery; only in this ecstasy, carried to self-annihilation, is he able to feel the touch of the eternal. So even as builder of space his inherent dualism commits him to transcendentalism, to mysticism. While Classical man sought only sensuous self-communion, he seeks sensuous self-oblivion, seeks through self-abandonment to lay hold of the supersensuous.

The Gothic architect lends no ear to the latent requirements of atmospheric space for salutary, rhythmic boundary. Because of his morbidly excited need of expression he offers violence, rather, to atmospheric life. Where the Classical architect only hearkened to it and obeyed it as an understanding servant, he actively opposes it. He pens it up, he gives it hindrance after

hindrance and stubbornly gets from it by force an entirely distinct rhythmic movement which is augmented to the utmost momentum and has as its goal infinite height. Rebuffed on all sides, shattering on a thousand obstacles, the atmospheric life of the whole interior space leads a vehemently agitated, restless existence until it finally with almost audible roar breaks against the vaulted ceiling. There a kind of whirlwind is engendered which blows irresistibly upward. If one is at all sensible of space, he never steps into the great Gothic cathedrals without feeling a dizziness because of the space. It is the same feeling of dizziness which exhales from the chaotic tangle of lines in early northern ornament. *Plus ça change, plus ça reste la même chose.*

The sensuous experience of space prescribes the organically rounded shape of the architectural elements with which the space is articulated. Everything hard, angular, discordant with the life of atmospheric space has to be avoided. The sensuous conception of space is transferred to the system of its division. The vaulting-shafts and ribs which pilot the course of the sensuous experience are made either round or semicircular; they have organic expressional value as has the spatial life they serve. But here, too, the transition from sensuous to supersensuous soon occurs; that is, the architectural members continue constantly to lose their corporeally material content and to become bearers of abstract expression. This process is accomplished by a conscious transformation of the profiles. The first stage gives them a pear-shaped section. By this pear-shaped section an already more linear, abstract expression becomes dominant within their very corporeal character. The entire elimination of any suggestions of bodily expression then follows in the second stage: the profiles become concave so that there only remains framed in on either side by deep shadows a slender fillet, which finally substitutes for the bodily tangible function a purely spiritual, intangible expressiveness. Thus, the artistic treatment in this case, too, leads in the end to non-

sensuous mimicry which is free of all structural purposes and seems to exist only for its own sake, a mimicry which gives expression to no corporeal forces, but to spiritual energies. So even here where an organically rounded and corporeally firm treatment of the architectural members is indispensable because of the unavoidable sensuous conception of space on the one hand and because of the inevitable static conditions on the other, we observe how the Gothic need of spiritual expression has its way and spiritualizes the material by a refined process of dematerialization.

Exterior Construction of the Cathedral

THE Gothic cathedral is the most striking and complete representation of the mediaeval mind. Mysticism and scholasticism, these two great mediaeval vital forces which generally appear incompatible opposites, are closely united in it and grow directly out of each other. As the room within is wholly mysticism, the construction without is wholly scholasticism. It is their common transcendentalism of movement that unites them, the same transcendentalism but served by different means of expression, in the one case by organic, sensuous means, in the other case by abstract, mechanical means. The mysticism of the interior is merely a scholasticism deepened and rendered organic and sensuous.

It was Gottfried Semper, with his Classical prepossession, who first coined the term "petrified scholasticism," and he thought to discredit the Gothic thereby. But this criticism, exactly to the point, can signify a condemnation of the Gothic only to one who is incapable of surveying the great mediaeval phenomenon of scholasticism because of the narrowness of his modern one-sided outlook. We wish to get away from this modern one-sidedness of judgment concerning scholasticism and try to offer in place of a modern and relative evaluation a positive interpretation. For the present, we desire to witness how this northern predisposition to scholasticism has evinced itself in architecture.

In ancient architecture, as far as this had anything to do with spatial artistic problems, and in all styles dependent upon it, hence, especially in the Romanesque, the construction of the exterior revealed itself as the outer complement of the inner enclosure of space. Now we have seen that in the Gothic style the proper space-enclosing factors, that is, the firm walls, have been dissolved and the structural and aesthetic functions have devolved upon the individual static forces of the con-

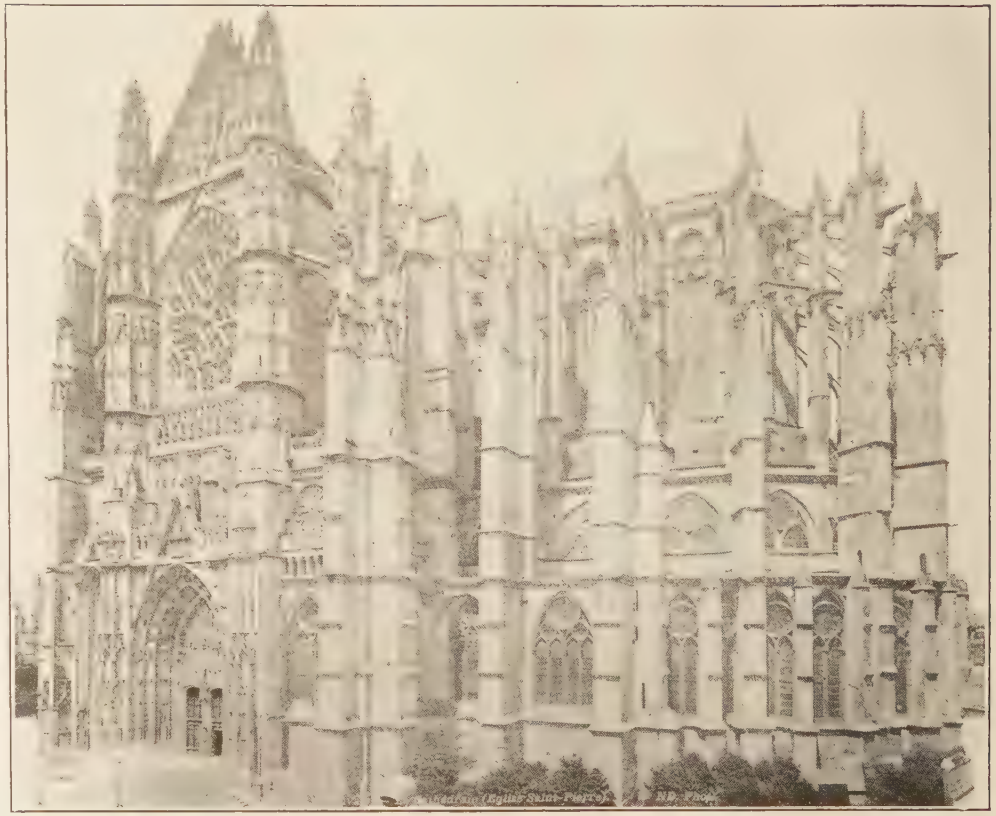
struction. This fundamental alteration of the architectural conception is bound to exercise its natural reaction upon the treatment of the exterior. Outside, the firm, closed walls must also be suppressed, the process of emancipating the individual forces must also win its way through.

We have seen how the process of articulating the expressionless exterior wall with pilaster strips and arcading commenced already in the Romanesque style. But the active forces that there enlivened the wall and made it expressive had only decorative significance, for they did not yet stand in any immediate, visible connection with the inner construction. Outer forces were speaking, not the immanent forces active in the building itself. The language of construction was yet undiscovered, and to it alone was reserved the possibility of fully expressing the Gothic will. The configuration of the interior, as we saw it take shape in consequence of the tendency to vaulting, gave the cue to rouse and make independent on the exterior construction, also, the immanent active forces. With the disburdening of the walls as carriers of the vaulting and with the concentration of the pressure on single, specially accented points the necessity of buttressing arose automatically just as it arose and was solved under similar circumstances in other architectural styles. The Gothic buttress system is nothing new structurally, yet it is new in that it is made visible instead of being concealed, as elsewhere, by the walling in of the whole. With this making it visible first comes the aesthetic emphasis of a structural necessity; that is, the Gothic longing for expression has discovered in this structural necessity opportunity for aesthetic expression, as well, and with that has found the categorical principle of the exterior treatment of the building.

Here, too, it is the introduction of the pointed arch that resolves the still hesitant and groping volition and causes the system to be consistently carried through. For only with the introduction of the pointed arch does the vaulting of the middle aisle reach its

full height and only then do the corresponding pillars acquire their extreme slenderness, which, in spite of the relative lightness of the burden, involves the danger of collapse. The resultant necessity of making supports possible at certain points and, besides, at a height where the low side aisles demanded by the Gothic emphasis of the middle aisle can no longer be made to take in the supporting members, leads to a buttressing which projects free in the air away over the side aisles—leads, that is, to an avowed display of the individual static powers that make up the structure of the whole building [Pl. XXV].

With a grand, energetic gesture the flying buttresses transmit the vaulting thrust of the central aisle to the massive buttress pillars of the side aisles. To make it easier for them firmly to withstand the lateral pressure of the burden, they are loaded on top with pinnacles. The structural significance of this buttress system is intelligible, therefore, only when one follows it out from the top downwards. For the aesthetic impression, however, the opposite direction is what counts, from the bottom upwards. We see how the heavenward aspiring energies free themselves from the power reservoir of the buttress pillars to attain their goal of height in a mighty exhibition of mechanical power. This movement from the buttress pillars along the flying buttresses to the clerestory of the middle aisle is of a compelling mimic power. All means are taken to force the observer to this aesthetic conception, which is the reverse of the structural conception of the buttressing system. For example, the pinnacles do not give the effect of a burden upon the buttress pillars, but of an excess of their upward impulse that frees itself and already impatiently flies up before the real goal of the upward movement is attained. From this seemingly vain extravagance of power in the pinnacles the buttress movement which after this delay goes on with certainty, conscious of its purpose, then receives a yet more imposing and more convincing expressiveness.



Beauvais Cathedral

Plate XXV.

While the mere structural fact is that the secrets of the free, elastic, structurally incomprehensible form of the Gothic interior betray themselves to one stepping outside by a painstaking support and crutch-work, on which the building must lean in order to produce its spatial effect, and while, therefore, in structure the exterior is a disillusioning unmasking of the baffling treatment of the interior, the aesthetic impression which is suggested to the observer in every way is that the upward movement of the interior is only repeated by this arrangement of the exterior. The intangible rhythmic movement of the interior seems to be petrified without. The upward aspiring forces, that have not yet come to rest on the inside, seem on the outside to strive, after freeing themselves from all limitation and constraint, to lose themselves in infinity. With ever renewed beginnings they multiply about the kernel of the interior to aspire away beyond it into infinity.

A sort of exterior *travée* is effected. There now becomes visible on the exterior of the building also a stretching that runs uniformly through side aisles and main aisle toward an ideal height. The same transcendental expressional movement that speaks in the interior with pliant, supple lines, speaks here with a harsh, mechanically and prodigiously expressive activity that unites thousands of forces to an identical purpose.

We have seen how in the configuration of the interior the upward expansion is still restricted by the old basilical scheme, which, because of the cult, places its interest in the sanctuary. This movement exactly pointed toward the altar is too circumscribed for the propensity of Gothic man to ideal movement. He seeks to counteract this longitudinal movement by a vertical expansion that opens for him the way to the boundless. The *travées* are applied like brakes on the longitudinal movement to divert its forces upward. But all this upward expansion in the interior still lacks the final consummation. It remains only countermovement, not conquest. It cannot autonomously provide the decisive accent, for this accent has been pre-

scribed for it by the cult. The interior can and will not break away from the altar.

Now the Gothic architect makes up outside for this limitation inside. Outside he can let the Gothic form will speak, released from all considerations of cult. And the result is the perfection of the towers as principal accent of the whole exterior [Pl. XXVI]. The emancipation from the old basilical scheme and from its movement toward the altar is here completely accomplished to the benefit of an ideal development of height. A directly opposite movement is thereby expressed. For on the exterior the nave acts only as preparation, only as arsis, for the great triumphant movement of the towers. All the exertions that are involved in the buttress system of the nave first give the light, natural upward growth of the towers its final dynamic quality. All the toiling and struggling of the individual forces on the exterior is gathered up and combined, as it were, in order to achieve its delivering utterance in the ideal non-purposive architectural form of the towers. The towers finish off the whole building as an apotheosis-like glorification of Gothic transcendentalism and there is no stone in them but serves the whole. Nowhere is the Gothic "auto-intoxication with logical formalism" more purely expressed than here, but, also, nowhere is the superlogical, transcendental effect of this logical multiplicity more monumentally and more convincingly recorded. A critic with Classical bias has no eye for this superlogical effect; he sees only the means and overlooks the end. He sees only the outlay of logical keenness and does not grasp the superlogical reason for this outlay. In short, this petrified scholasticism can only seem to him madness with method in it. But whoever has recognized the Gothic form will, whoever has traced it from the chaotic entanglement of the early ornament up to the artful chaos of this exhibition of power in stone, has his Classical standards shattered by the grandeur of this expression, and he darkly apprehends the mighty mediaeval mental world which is torn by extremes and is therefore capable of supernatural exertions. And

Ulm Cathedral

as long as he stands under the overwhelming impression of this sublime hysteria of the Gothic, he is almost inclined to be unjust toward the healing process of the Renaissance, which has reduced the feverish Gothic mental life to a normal—one might almost say *bourgeois*—temperature and which has substituted for the grandeur of pathos the ideal of beauty and serene calm.

We were just speaking of the architectonic multiplicity revealed in the construction of the system of towers. It was the same quality of multiplication that we identified in the early ornament. There, too, we saw, in contrast to the quality of addition shown by Classical ornament, that the individual motive was multiplied by itself. And here, in the architecture, also, the exponent of this mathematical evolution is infinity and gives, as result of the logical process, a chaotic confusion.

Gothic man seeks to lose himself, not only in the infinity of the large, but also in the infinity of the small. The infinity of movement which gets macrocosmic expression in the architectonic form of the whole, gets microcosmic expression in every smallest architectural detail. Every single part is a world for itself, replete with perplexing agitation and illimitability. It repeats in miniature, but with the same means, the expression of the whole. It demands the same unresisting surrender and produces the same effect of stupefaction. A pinnacle tip is a diminutive cathedral [Pl. XXVII, A]. In pondering over the artful chaos of a tracery [Pl. XXV] one can experience in a small way the same intoxication with logical formalism as in the whole architectural system. The unity of the form will and its thorough execution is amazing.

We must not conclude this investigation of Gothic architecture, which is surely not exhaustive, without making one particular point clear. We have intentionally avoided citing for example or for proof any specific building of the Gothic epoch. Just as little have we entered into the details of the different periods of the Gothic proper. A purely psychological investi-

gation of style can keep in mind, rather, only the ideal type, perhaps never realized, but hovering as immanent goal before all real endeavors. Therefore, we are not here concerned with this or that monument of Gothic architecture but with the idea of the Gothic, which we have sought by means of the knowledge of the characteristic Gothic form will to distill from the richly varied and nuanced fullness of its embodiment.

A. PINNACLE TIP OF LA SAINTE CHAPELLE, PARIS.

B. LATE GOTHIC CAPITAL
(*Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*)

The Psychology of Scholasticism

SCHOLASTICISM is in the field of religion what Gothic architecture is in the field of art. It is an equally eloquent document of the sublime hysteria of the Middle Ages, and it has been misjudged in the same way through the application of a false standard. The misunderstandings in regard to scholasticism are just like those in regard to Gothic architecture.

In the former, too, people have been wont to see a display of logical acumen, the inner superlogical purpose of which they did not grasp. Thus, they have only caught at the outer purpose of scholastic thinking, namely, at the intention of giving the system of ecclesiastical dogmas a rational justification. In a tone of reproach they have declared that scholasticism did not intend to find unknown, new truth but was satisfied to support with reasons and prove rational the truth already at hand, as it was contained in the theological and philosophical system of the church—which inwardly rested upon divine manifestation, outwardly upon the authority of Aristotle. They have said that scholasticism was only a handmaid of theology, that the whole display of logical acuteness was, therefore, determined only by the complexity of the problem, which consisted precisely in bringing into touch with the intellect even matters of revelation and belief which eluded direct intellectual explanation and justification. They have said that that had led to the logical subtlety, to the tortuous, sophistic dialectics of scholasticism. People saw in scholastic thinking only the hair-splitting arguments and logical manoeuvres of an advocate who would save a lost case by every logical artifice.

On the contrary, anyone who has recognized that secret scholasticism which, in the peculiarly involved, restless, and complicated course of northern thought in general, betrayed itself long before the historical scholasticism proper and without any connection with the Christian doctrine of salvation, any one who has

recognized, for instance, the connection of the involved dialectics of scholasticism with the enigmatic questions, "this favorite form of Germanic dialogue" (Lamprecht), and with their involved activity spurning all clearness and directness, is driven to a view of scholasticism that entirely neglects its outer, theological purpose and focuses only upon the character of the thinking. As in these enigmatic questions and answers the outlay of logic and acumen has no relation at all to the immediate cause or result, likewise, in scholasticism proper the direct theological purpose is scarcely considered as compared to the joy in a certain turned and twisted movement of the thinking as such. As one speaks of the artistic form will, one might speak of a spiritual form will, that is, of the will for a definite form of thinking, which exists quite independently of the special problem. The object of the thinking would, therefore, be scarcely considered here in comparison with the definite propensity to activity of the spirit. As an artistic structural and architectural fury, far exceeding all practical requirements, has seized on northern man, so, too, there has seized on him a spiritual structural fury, which betrays the same need to be absorbed in an original activity of abstract, that is, of logical or else of mechanical sort. Northern intellect did not have primarily a bent for knowledge but for activity. It evinced this bent for activity at first without direct purpose: this was, as it were, the ornamental stage of thought, such as appeared in the above-mentioned enigmatic questions and in a thousand other forms. Now as in art, the development of architecture imposed a direct task upon the northern propensity to purely ornamental form —and indeed a task which did not evolve from within but was proposed from without, namely, the elaboration of the antique basilical scheme—likewise in spiritual respects, the reception of Christianity and the consequences thereof set a task for the purely playful ornamental thinking, a task proposed to it from without, in the solution of which it manifested its highest ability. And just as the Gothic cathedral far out-

grows its immediate purpose, the creation of space, and creates in the tower construction of the exterior a monument that attains nearly the same stage of an ideal purposelessness as was presented in the ornament, likewise, scholastic thinking grows far beyond the immediate cause of its application and becomes an autonomous manifestation of nonpurposive, abstract movement of thought.

It cannot be said, therefore, that the scholastic wishes to approach the divine through intellectual knowledge. He wishes, rather, to partake of the divine through the manner of his thinking, through this chaotic, and yet in its logic so artful, confusion of the movement of his thought. The abstract progress of his thinking, and not its result, gives him that feeling of spiritual intoxication which brings him stupefaction and deliverance. It is similar to the abstract progress of the line, such as he has made visible in his ornament. It is similar to the abstract progress of petrified energies, such as he has made visible in his architecture. There is *one* definite form will which governs all these utterances and in spite of their technical difference links them together as similar resultant phenomena. There is the same auto-intoxication with logical formalism, the same expenditure of rational means for a superrational purpose, the same madness with method in it, the same artful chaos. And to this similarity of results must correspond a community of premise. This common premise is precisely Gothic transcendentalism, which, emerging from an unpurified and unclarified dualism, can find satisfaction and deliverance only in hysterical emotions, in convulsive flights, in exaggerations of pathos.

We see, therefore, that in mediaeval philosophy all is bound to the abstract active process of thinking in the same way that in mediaeval painting all is bound to the abstract line and its inherent expression. As in mediaeval painting everything that is represented is merged in the higher life of the means by which it is represented; so in scholastic philosophy all direct purpose of knowledge is merged in the higher life of the

means of knowledge and their autonomous activity. It is a catastrophe that disorientates and side-tracks all mediaeval thinking when the Renaissance degrades thinking, which was until then an end in itself, into mere means to an end, namely, to knowledge of extraneous scientific truth, when the *purpose* of knowledge becomes everything and its *process* nothing. Then, thinking loses its abstract autonomy and becomes servile; it becomes the slave of truth. Formerly, it was practiced almost without object and found its delight in its own activity alone, for the belief in revealed divine truth really spared it any craving for actual knowledge, directed toward the unknown. But now an actual object, truth, is set before it, now it is required to give up its autonomy and be absolutely regulated from the standpoint of the object. In short, it is condemned to mere intellectual tracing of truth, that is, of objective facts, just as is, in painting, the line, that once, likewise, lived only by means of inherent expression and now under the same circumstances also loses its autonomous, arabesque character to become an enclosing contour, a copy of the world of natural forms, a mere servant of the objective. As the new Renaissance concept of scientific truth is bound to experiment, so the new Renaissance concept of artistic truth is bound to anatomical study. In both cases objective truth has become the ideal, and that means that firm anchorage has been found in this world. Transcendentalism in intellectual and artistic creation has come to an end. The Renaissance brings the great healing process, the great process of making the sensibilities *bourgeois,* which roots out all mediaeval abnormalities and for the power of the supernatural substitutes the beauty of the natural.

The Psychology of Mysticism

AS mysticism and scholasticism are inextricably combined in the Gothic cathedral, as in it they grow immediately out of each other, so, too, in historical fact they are very closely related and intertwined. What unites them, what makes them phenomena of like quality, is their transcendental character. What differentiates them is the dissimilarity of their means of expression, which, of course, is not accidental but has its good reasons, which grow out of important changes in the mental life of northern humanity, and which must therefore occupy us in this connection.

Just as we are conscious of the interior of the Gothic minster as a sensuously instigated supersensuous experience, which contrasts in its whole nature with the abstract expressional world of Gothic exterior architecture and with the means by which the latter affects us, so we are conscious also of the difference between mysticism and scholasticism shown by the contrast of the more sensuous coloring of mysticism with the abstract, non-sensuous nature of scholasticism. Instead of intellectual exaltation in which the religious feeling of scholasticism tries to find its certainty of salvation, in mysticism we see ecstasy of sense determine the religious experience. Mental ecstasy becomes psychical ecstasy. Psychical experience, however, is, like spatial experience, something remote from all that is mental or abstract, something that is nourished directly by our senses. For what we call psychical is only the enhancement and refinement of the sensuous feeling into the sphere of the supersensuous. Now if it is no longer the mind that soars upward toward God, as in scholasticism but the soul, this is as much as to say that an increase in sensuousness has entered into religious life. In consequence of the whole character of the question governing our investigation this increase in sen-

suous feeling is an unusually important phenomenon, from which we may draw decisive conclusions.

For wherever we trace a growth of sensous feeling in the inner developmental process of humanity, we know that a mitigation of the initially abruptly dualistic relationship of man and outer world has gone so far that the individual man dares dissever himself from the mass and face the outer world alone. For abstractness of feeling is nothing but the result of mass cohesion. The coherent mass, yet undifferentiated individually, necessarily feels abstractly, for its clinging together, its fear of losing its cohesion, means precisely that it is still so overshadowed by a dualistic anxiety and consequently by a desire of deliverance that only the superhuman, invariable character of abstract values can bring it rest and satisfaction. Mass feeling and abstract feeling are but two terms for the same thing. And it is the same tautology to say that with the growth of individual consciousness abstractness of feeling relaxed and turned into sensuousness. For the abstract signifies the impersonal, the superpersonal, and, as such, the expression of the undifferentiated mass; but sensuous feeling is inseparably bound to the process of human individualization and can belong only to single personalities. The man detached from the mass will necessarily feel sensuously and naturally, because his detachment from the mass indicates precisely that the dualism has to a certain degree vanished and that a certain sense of unity between man and outer world has come. To be sure, the mass can feel sensuously, too, but only the mass that is composed of single personalities, not the individually undifferentiated mass which underlies mediaeval feeling.

The dualistic relationship of fear between man and outer world must first be dissolved, the instinctive consciousness of the unfathomableness of existence must first be washed away, before man can dare to face alone this existence, that is, the infinite phenomenal world. The growing sense of personality indicates the decline of broad cosmic sense. Thus, we see that the Orient has never taken part in the European process of individual-

ization. Its cosmic sense, that is, its awareness of the deception of the phenomenal world and of the unfathomableness of existence, is too firmly anchored in its instinct. Therefore, its feeling and its art remain abstract. But in the development of northern man, who was only dualistically troubled, not dualistically chastened, the increasing outer confidence has led to a noticeable mitigation of the dualism and, consequently, to a certain kind of individualization, the mixed, incomplete character of which we cannot fail to see, but which is, none the less, significant for such an increase of sensuous feeling as we can find in mysticism. In mysticism we observe that the personal, psychical experience has become the channel of divine knowledge, and this shows us right away that in the relationship of northern man to the world a change of temperature has occurred, that this relationship has gained in warmth and intimacy. It is something entirely new and stupendous in mediaeval ideas that the divine is no longer sought in non-sensuous abstractions, which lie beyond all that is earthly and human, in a realm of supernatural invariables, but in the center of the ego, in the mirror of self-contemplation, in the intoxication of psychical ecstasy. It is an entirely new human self-consciousness, an entirely new human pride, that deems the poor human ego worthy to become the vessel of God. Thus, mysticism is nothing but the belief in the divinity of the human soul, for the soul can look upon God only because divine itself. "The soul as *microtheos,* as God in miniature—therein lies the solution of every enigma of mysticism" (Windelband). How far is such a self-centered standpoint from all Oriental transcendentalism, how far from the latter is the belief that the human, the limited, the contingent could so broaden itself as to partake of the divine, the unlimited, the absolute! The Oriental knows that he can never, in his finiteness, look upon God. His God lives only in what is beyond man. As to the mystic, however, none of his self-renunciation conceals the fact that he thinks to partake of the beyond already in this world. Since he compresses the great beyond, the beyond that lies

outside all that is human and living, into a personal beyond, that is, a beyond that is attainable through mere self-negation, and since he thus descends from world-negation to self-negation, he unconsciously approaches the present world and its sensuous sphere. Of the sense of the transcendental there has come about a dissolution, which expresses itself all manner of ways in the nature of mysticism. The principle of divine transcendence gradually submerges into the idea of divine immanence. Mysticism has got so close to earth that it no longer believes the divine is outside the world, but in the world, that is, in the human soul and all that the soul can experience. It believes it can partake of the divine by means of inner ecstasy and meditation.

With this idea of the divinity of the human soul a warm wave of tender sensuousness streams into the chill northern world. For not only the divine, but also the natural, is now drawn into the circle of the soul's experience. Since mysticism makes man the vessel of God, since it lets God and the world be reflected in the same mirror of the human soul, it introduces a beatifying process, a deifying process, or, to choose a more exact phrase, that humanizing process of the surrounding world and of the natural which is consistently developed into the idealistic pantheism that hails trees, animals—in short, all creation—as fraternal.

The certainty of being able to see God in one's self leads to a rejuvenation of the soul, and this rejuvenation reacts upon the whole existent world reflected in the soul. It is a fine, subtle, subjective anthropomorphism that here reveals itself. Since the world is here reflected not in the clear senses, but in the soul (in this supersensuous element), the process of sensualizing the world as effected by mysticism is not of such clear, sensuous character as the corresponding process in antiquity and in the Renaissance. Far better could one speak in this case of a beatifying than of a sensualizing process. But given the close relationship between the feeling of the senses and that of the soul, it becomes evident that this new mystic feeling did, nevertheless, throw over a bridge to the refined sensu-

ous feeling which the Renaissance made the European ideal.

Hence, it is with mysticism that the sensuous element commences in the Gothic, although it is at first so mild and elusive that it appears only as supersensuousness. This sensuous supersensuousness of advanced Gothic can best be denominated the lyrical element of Gothic. The rejuvenation of the soul becomes a rejuvenation of the senses, the joy in ego becomes the joy in nature, and a world of lyric sentimentality is aroused. It is the most sensitive, most delicate spectacle in the development of Gothic to observe how this new lyrical element of the Gothic adapts its peculiar character to the old frigid, unnatural form will and gradually envelops the rigid world of abstract forms with flower and bud decoration. First comes a coy playing around the old stiff forms, then a more affectionate caressing of them, and finally their complete embrace in a sweet, lyrically toned naturalism. The capitals become floral marvels [Pl. XXVII, B]. There is no end of luxuriant crab and scroll work. And the tracery which was formerly arranged so schematically and geometrically becomes an enchanted world of buds and blossoms. From within the hard, linear chaos a blossoming chaos now emerges. Thus, the ornament, too, follows the path from the abstract scholasticism of its early period to the sensuously supersensuous mysticism of late Gothic times.

The formative arts in the narrower sense also take part in this lyric joy in nature, in this inundation of the world with the soul's warm waves of sympathy. It is not to the rough, matter-of-fact world that the mystic surrenders himself in his fervor of love, but to a clarified world of the soul, a world that is wholly bathed in a tender, lyric sentiment. All rigidity melts, all hardness softens, every line is charged with the soul's feeling. On the stern faces of the statues blooms a smile that comes from the very heart and seems the reflection of inner bliss [Frontispiece]. All becomes lyric, heartfelt, and soulful. Nature, which had been known to scholasticism only as hard actuality and had therefore been renounced, now becomes the Garden of God, springs

into bloom, and changes from hard actuality to tender idyl. The hard, stiff linear treatment of the characteristic drawing is mollified. Angular crinkliness becomes rhythmic calligraphy. The spiritually expressive lines become soulfully expressive, the spiritual energy of the linear expression subsides into calligraphic intimacy. What is lost in grandeur is gained in beauty.

Individuality and Personality

IT would require a special account of detailed and intimate character to make clear this charming and varied counter-play and interplay of scholastic and mystic, of superpersonally abstract and personally natural, feeling in Gothic art. Here, where we are interested only in the main lines of development, the suggestions of the preceding chapter must suffice. Yet in this chapter we must focus attention upon the relation of mysticism to the Renaissance.

We have seen that the growth of sensuous feeling which mysticism introduces is connected with the process of the individualization of northern mankind. In religion, as in art, we have noticed how the single ego becomes the channel of feeling and replaces the mass as channel of feeling. Now mediaeval feeling is identical with abstract, that is, mass feeling, and, consequently, it seems that mysticism prepares for the development of modern times. And of that there can be no doubt: it is the history of modern feeling, it is the history of modern art, that commences with mysticism.

Accordingly, whoever scents Renaissance air in mysticism is not deceived, except that he must never forget that mysticism is a northern and the Renaissance a southern product. Because of the likeness, he must not overlook the difference. Mysticism leads to Protestantism, the southern Renaissance to European Classicism.

It is, in fact, the elementary difference between northern mankind and southern that brings two movements from the same starting point to very different goals. The same starting point of both movements is the passing of feeling and knowledge over from the mass to the single ego. With that we hit upon Burckhardt's graven words, *the discovery of individuality in the Renaissance.* A certain correction in this expression will guide us along the right path and make us

understand the difference between the northern and southern development.

The correction which Burckhardt's saying requires is the substitution of *personality* for the word *individuality*. For personality is what was discovered in the southern Renaissance, which Burckhardt had in mind. The concept of individuality, on the contrary, belongs to the northern world, it characterizes absolutely the inmost essence of northern mysticism.

For the word *individuality* has negative coloring that makes it quite unsuitable to indicate the southern phenomenon. Its etymological genesis necessarily calls up the image of the mechanical partition of a mass into its smallest, indivisible components. This mechanical process of partition, which abandons the individual separate parts to incoherence, gives no picture of the development which takes place in the southern Renaissance. For in this case it is not a mass which is mechanically cut up into countless incoherent parts, but it is a great social organism which gradually becomes conscious of its single parts and develops its compact solidity into a thousand fine, individual organs, into individual organs each of which lives that life which is common to the whole organism, but in a smaller, less conspicuous manner. It is no mechanic process of partition, but an organic process of differentiation, in which the organic cohesion is guaranteed in spite of all differentiation. This wholly positive development the negative coloring of the word *individuality* does not fit at all; but the word *personality*, as we commonly use it, certainly does.

All the more the negative coloring of the word *individuality* fits the northern process of individualization as this commences with mysticism. In the north it is, in fact, more the process of decomposition, the process of crumbling a compact mass into countless arbitrary parts that fly asunder and lack any concentric, organic connection. Northern man feels, too, that this process of individualization is negative, that is, he soon becomes conscious of his individual isolation, for through the negation of this ego to which he has attained he

seeks to deliver himself from individual isolation. The southern Renaissance movement, with its growing consciousness of personality, led to self-assertion, to self-affirmation, to self-glorification; the northern individualizing process leads, on the other hand, to self-negation, to self-contempt. Individual character is here felt to be something negative, in fact, even something sinful. The individualism of mysticism preaches: Annihilate your individuality. Or, as it runs in the language of mysticism: Trample your nature under foot; whoever persists in self cannot know God. That is precisely the peculiar paradox of mysticism: derived from individualism, it forthwith directs its preaching against its own source. While Renaissance man through realization of his ego and consciousness of his personality becomes inwardly entirely free and independent and in clear self-assertion receives the world as his own, northern man after realization of his ego gives it up again instantly in ardent seeking after God. He has only become an individuality, not a personality. So mysticism, like scholasticism, remains transcendental, and the element of intoxication, the need of deliverance, plays the same rôle in both. The process of individualization does not let the dualistic distraction vanish but only makes it take other forms.

Although we recognize mysticism to be a movement parallel in a certain sense to the southern Renaissance, we must not overlook its transcendental character, which makes it different from all Classical feeling of healthiness and worldliness and renders it a purely Gothic product. For by Gothic we understand that great phenomenon which is irreconcilably opposed to the Classic and is not bound to a single stylistic period but throughout the centuries manifests itself continually in ever new disguises and is not a mere temporary phenomenon but at bottom is a timeless racial phenomenon which is rooted in the innermost constitution of northern humanity and which, therefore, not even the levelling European Renaissance has been able to uproot.

To be sure, we are not to understand race in the narrow sense of race purity; rather, the word *race* must here comprehend all the peoples in whose racial mixture the Teutons have played an important rôle. And that holds good for the greater part of Europe. As far as it is penetrated with Teutonic elements it does, in a broader sense, show a racial cohesion which, *in spite of* the racial distinction in the usual sense, makes itself unmistakably felt, and which is, as it were, crystallized and recorded for all time in such historical phenomena as the Gothic. For the Teutons, as we saw, are the *conditio sine qua non* of the Gothic. They introduced among self-confident peoples the germs of doubt of sense and of distraction of soul, out of which the transcendental pathos of the Gothic then shot up so mightily.

The real purpose of these sketchy observations was to lay bare the latent Gothic before the Gothic proper. It would require another study to ascertain the latent Gothic after the Gothic proper down to our own time. The Gothic character is still quite obvious in the Baroque in spite of the un-Gothic means of expression. To discover the later variants of the latent Gothic would require much finer and more delicate tools than we have had to provide for this investigation; for, of course, this latent Gothic constantly acquires more dissimilar and refined processes of disguise; and who knows whether such a new investigation, penetrating to the innermost secret cells of style phenomena may not finally show even much northern Classicism of more modern times to be only disguised Gothic!